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The Christian Century

Published Weekly

The Spirit of the Christian Soldier

By Chiang Kai-shek

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Is There a Social Gospel?

An Editorial

The Future of the British Empire

By William Henry Chamberlin

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In This Issue

CHIANG KAI-SHEK is now both president and generalissimo of the Republic of China. The circumstances under which he wrote the article in this issue, now for the first time published in English, are described in an editorial paragraph on page 324. Dr. Frank W. Price, who made the translation, is a member of the faculty of the Nanking Theological Seminary, now carrying on its work in West China. Dr. Price has just returned to this country from Chungking and may be addressed in care of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions of the Southern Presbyterian Church, 113 16th Ave., S, Nashville 1, Tenn., or at 3228 Worthington St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD contributes regularly to The Christian Century. Mr. Villard is on the point of leaving for Puerto Rico, where he will prepare a series of articles on conditions in that American territory.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN continues in this issue the series of six articles begun last week. Mr. Chamberlin is one of America's most respected foreign correspondents, having represented the *Christian Science Monitor* in Moscow, Tokyo and Paris for many years. He is the author of many books, the most recent being the widely read *The Russian Enigma*. His home is in Cambridge, Mass.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 15, 1944

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Calendar of Coming Events

Mar. 16-20. Methodist Conference on Racism and World Order, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
Mar. 17. St. Patrick's Day.
Mar. 18. Y.M.C.A. Annual Spring Retreat, Detroit, Mich.
Mar. 19. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Stephen S. Wise and Joshua Loth Liebman, speakers.
Mar. 19. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Henry P. Van Dusen, speaker.
Mar. 19. Community Church, Boston; Louis Dolivet, speaker.
Mar. 20. Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Department of Christian Social Education, Philadelphia.
Mar. 20-Apr. 25. Annual Short-Term School for Missionaries, Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn.
Mar. 21. Federal Council of Churches, Executive Committee, New York.
Mar. 22. Central Methodist Church Forum, Detroit, Mich.; Howard Thurman, speaker.
Mar. 25. Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.
Mar. 25, 26. Spring Retreat, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
Mar. 26. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Michael J. Ahern, speaker.
Mar. 26. Passion Sunday.
Apr. 2. Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Robert D. Workman, speaker.
Apr. 2. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Olin Downes, speaker.
Apr. 2. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Horace M. Kallen, speaker.
Apr. 2. Palm Sunday.
Apr. 6. Maundy Thursday.
Apr. 7. Good Friday.
Apr. 9. Easter.
Apr. 9. Easter Sunrise Service, Central Park Mall, New York.
Apr. 9. Easter Sunrise Service, Soldier Field, Chicago; Martin R. De Haan, speaker.
Apr. 12-17. National Association of Evangelicals, Columbus, O.
Apr. 20-22. Illinois Conference, Lutheran Augustana Synod, Peoria.
Apr. 22. Indiana Council on Religion in Higher Education, Indianapolis.
Apr. 25. St. Mark's Day.
Apr. 26. Methodist General Conference, Kansas City, Mo.
Apr. 28-30. Bondurant Lectures, University of Illinois, Urbana; Charles Clayton Morrison, speaker.
Apr. 30. Forum, Second Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.; Jan Struther, speaker.
May 3-6. State Conference of Social Work, Minneapolis, Minn.
May 7. Methodist Church College Day.
May 7-14. Religious Book Week.
May 8-14. Christian Family Week.
May 14. Rural Life Sunday.
May 14. Festival of the Christian Home (formerly Mother's Day).
May 18. Ascension Day.
May 23. Northern Baptist Convention, Atlantic City.
May 24. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, New Concord, O.
May 25. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the United States, Montreat, N. C.
May 25. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Chicago.
May 28. Pentecost Sunday (Whitsunday).
May 30. Memorial Day.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

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EDITORIAL

NO SAYING attributed to Jesus is reported with more frequent repetition than the one about the first being last and the last first. It occurs, with only minor variations, five times in the three synoptic Gospels. Either he said it more than once, or he said it with such emphasis that the evangelists felt that reiteration was required to register its importance in his thought. In form, it is a paradox. In the various passages in which this reversal of popular values is asserted, those who think themselves "first" but who turn out to be "last" are, in turn, those who take good care of themselves and their families regardless of the demands of the Kingdom; those who work steadily from morning to night and expect to establish a claim on the divine favor by their own merit; those who rely upon their personal association with the right people; and those who think that the possession and exercise of authority over others is the greatest thing in this world or the next. The "last" who become "first" when the test of spiritual priority is applied are their corresponding opposites: those who place the Kingdom before property or family; the eleventh-hour laborers whose reward is by grace; the truly faithful and righteous, even though they are social and racial outsiders who come from the east and the west; and those who know that it is nobler to serve than to rule and be served.

For the Fourth Week of Lent

Russia Presents Lenient Peace Terms to Finland

POSSIBLY it is true, as Walter Lippmann insists, that the Russian terms to Finland cannot be finally judged until it is known what is involved in the internment of the German troops. But the initial impression upon world opinion has been that Stalin has presented the Finns with astonishingly lenient conditions for peace. In the Russian terms there is no demand for any change in the Finnish government. There is nothing about any Russian occupation of Finnish cities. There is outright repudiation of the idea of unconditional surrender. Russia contents herself with requiring that the German army now in Finland shall be put out of action, that the borders set at the close of the war in 1940 shall be re-established and that there shall be later negotiations to set the terms for demobilization of the Finnish army, for reparations and for the disposal of the Petsamo region. The Finnish press may attack such terms as unreasonable, but to the outside world they will seem to offer a much more generous peace than a nation in Finland's helpless position might have expected. Nevertheless, in offering such mild terms Stalin knows what he is doing. He knows that the effect of his leniency will be felt in every part of Axis Europe, and nowhere more than in Germany. In the light of the terms offered Finland, much of the terror will be taken from the idea of negotiating with Russia. Having beaten the German generals, Stalin has found in the Finnish terms a way to beat Dr. Göbbels' most effective Russian bogey propaganda as well. It is probably no mere coincidence that publication of the Russian terms for Finland was followed almost immediately by moves in Bulgaria and Rumania to get out of the war.

How to Make Enemies for The United States

GENERAL MARSHALL, if Washington reports are correct, has asked the Senate foreign relations committee to shelve the Wagner-Taft resolution asking that restrictions against Jewish immigration into Palestine be lifted and that eventually that country shall be recognized as a Jewish national homeland. It is to be hoped that the Senate commitee will heed the general's request, which has undoubtedly been caused by fear of the effect on the Arab world. The fact is that the whole consideration of this resolution has been conducted in such a way as to make enemies for the United States all over the Near and Middle East. When, one after another, Iraq, Transjordania, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia protested, Senator Wagner had the incredibly bad manners, in a message to the Iraqi Parliament, to reply that the United States has been able for more than a century "to reach its own conclusions without advice from foreign officials." This despite the fact that in this very affair

the Senate was being asked to tell the British government what it should do about one of its mandates! If General Marshall has stopped a farther advance along that road of folly he has added to the debt of gratitude which the American people already owe him. Meanwhile, the uprising of fifty-five oil companies and the Petroleum Industry War Council against Mr. Ickes' trans-Arabian pipe line scheme may hasten the Senate investigation that proposal badly needs. For that, also, is another venture practically guaranteeing future trouble for the United States in the Middle and Near East.

Chiang Kai-shek's World Outlook

WE REGARD the publication of the article by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on page 331 of this issue as an event of importance to the entire Christian world. As a footnote attached to the article states, it was originally a message to wounded soldiers, broadcast by the Chinese leader last Christmas Eve. It has been published in all newspapers in free China, but this is the first time it has appeared in English translation. The translator, Dr. Frank W. Price of Nanking Theological Seminary, also prepared the standard English translation of Sun Yat-sen's *San Min Chu I* ("Three Peoples' Principles"). Added importance is attached to the present document because in this case Chiang Kai-shek, as he informed Dr. Price, dispensed with the aid of all his secretaries and wrote the entire message himself. The address is notable in three respects. In the first place, it reveals the human sympathy of the generalissimo for the sufferings of his soldiers. Frequently this side of his character has been hidden from casual observers by his customary reserve. Second, and more important, it shows how constantly he is thinking in world terms. It is a "*world* of equality and freedom" that China's soldiers are struggling to create. The soldier is called on to do "his full duty to his country *and to the world*." He endures in China in order that "government of, by and for the people" may be "spread over *the world*." In the third place, we believe it will prove impossible for anyone to read this message without being moved by the simplicity and forthrightness of the Christian faith of the man who wrote it. Reading it again we find ourselves asking: What other leader of the principal nations now at war might have been expected to think in these terms and speak in these words?

Is South Carolina Dreaming Of Secession Days Again?

PROBABLY the bitterest outburst by a legislative body since the outbreak of the war came from the South Carolina house of representatives last week. Demanding that "henceforth the damned agitators of the north leave the south alone," the resolution declared that advocacy of the equality of the white and Negro races is "hostile to the existence and preservation of the American union of states." With only a few dissenting votes, the legislators reaffirmed "our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the south and we solemnly pledge our lives and our sacred honor to maintaining it, whatever the cost, in war and in peace." Is South Carolina dreaming again the dreams of December 1860? Something of the sort was certainly suggested when the same body later in the day voted for the "appointment and designation" of James F. Byrnes, war mobilization director and a native of South Carolina, to represent that state at "any and all peace conferences following the present war." What is back of this outburst? The answer is not hard to find. It concerns race only secondarily. The South Carolina legislature is against the abolition of the poll tax as a qualification for voting. That proposal has been gaining ground recently and is again before Congress. If it passes, many South Carolina legislators and some representatives in Congress will face certain political liquidation. In the 1940 election only three out of 100 of the people in the state voted—the lowest proportion in the nation. With another national election coming on, these poll tax legislators see a threat to the continuance of their power. But with a national majority piling up against them, their only recourse is to the rhetorical fustian of secession days.

Pacifists Want Peace— But When?

NOTHING illustrates the political naiveté of American pacifists better than their current embarrassment over what is called the "Peace Now" movement. This Peace Now organization happens to be a not very formidable group which has been in existence a year or more. It escaped national notice until the Dies committee recently "exposed" it as a part of its annual drive for the renewal of its appropriation from Congress. It is headed by George W. Hartman, a professor in Columbia and Harvard. Professor Hartman was recently permitted to speak at the annual conference of pacifist organizations in New York. The meeting then devoted much of its remaining time to listening to criticisms of "Peace Now." These were led by A. J. Muste, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, who complained that Professor Hartman's organization was receiving the support of "reactionaries" and possibly other rather dubious characters. The implication was that pacifists should decline to associate with such people when they advocate peace, even though pacifists are supposed to stand for peace, first, last and all the time. Dr. Muste's criticism was on a parity with that of the Socialists who have been at such pains to dissociate themselves from Dr. Hartman, former Socialist candidate for mayor of New York, because of his present activities. The Socialists seem to have forgotten that their party, which was then far stronger than it is today, held to the position in the First World War which Dr. Hartman takes now. But we are not concerned to argue the merits of the "peace now" thesis. What we here desire to point out is that the present attitude of pacifists toward this group provides another proof of their own political incompetence and irrelevance. They have espoused an idea which is compelled to prove its merit, if any, in the political arena. But wartime politics, as they occasionally discover when they venture too close to the toothy realities of a dog-eat-dog encounter, is a rough and tumble affair. Their souls recoil from the cer-

tainty that if they are not mauled they are certain to be smeared and in the process they will have to rub elbows with people who want peace now for reasons other than their own. Their present effort to put as much distance as possible between themselves and "Peace Now" illustrates the point often made in this paper since the outbreak of the war. The pacifist in time of war lives in a dream world.

Congress Will Consider World-wide Food Plans

BESIDES the emergency need for measures to meet the problems of hunger and disease in the war-torn countries as soon as peace returns—the field of the Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of which former Governor Lehman is head—there is the important task of making long-range and world-wide plans concerning food and agriculture. The Hot Springs conference, held in May 1943, set up an Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture in which forty-four nations are associated. A preliminary and tentative program has been outlined by this commission and the matter is being prepared for submission to Congress within the next few weeks for its approval and support. Observers report that members of both houses seem generally favorable to the proposals. The plan as outlined does not involve any indiscriminate "share the wealth" policy or any idea that America should feed the world. Its objectives are such things as these: the establishment of reasonable and progressive standards of nutrition, the improvement of agricultural methods to increase production, the interchange of scientific knowledge and techniques of production, the promotion of social and economic research and the removal of barriers to trade. It is understood that the full carrying out of these plans must wait upon the formation of some permanent organization of the nations, but it is not dependent upon the creation of what the most isolationist-minded would call a super-state. It is rather akin to the work of the International Labor Office, in which the United States is a participant. If it is true, as reported, that members of Congress are generally hospitable to the suggested program—and we hope it is—it is an encouraging indication that, whatever tensions may have arisen between Congress and the President, Congress is not unwilling to recognize the importance of international economic collaboration and to go along with plans for promoting "freedom from want" when the proposals are detached from political considerations.

Indian Famine Deaths Reach Huge Total

POLITICALLY inspired statements that the human crisis created by the famine in India has now passed must be accepted with a large discount if information reaching this country through other channels is true. A dispatch to the *Toronto Star* from New Delhi says that anxiety is still felt there on the food situation in Bengal. It quotes an estimate originating in the anthropology department of Calcutta University "that the total number of deaths from famine and disease in Bengal above normal is in the neighborhood of 3,500,000. The survey shows that the death rate among men is much higher than among women, which means a loss of wage earners and increasing demands for relief from women and children." This appalling figure, while it is admittedly an estimate arrived at through a sampling survey, reveals more clearly than any previous word from India how great a tragedy has occurred in that country. And Bengal, it should be remembered, was not the only province affected. A new rice crop in some areas has brought a temporary easement for that small portion of the population that can afford to pay high prices, but people on the spot do not reflect the optimism of the official communiques. A worker with the Friends Ambulance Unit working in Bengal declared recently that "the future of the province over the coming year gives grave cause for apprehension. The general impression prevailing not only here but abroad that famine is over by no means tallies with the views of the district officers and voluntary workers whom I have met recently." He quotes "one of the acutest officers in the service" as saying that "he thinks a repetition of famine conditions in May to June is inevitable." American Baptist missions located in the heart of the famine area continue to appeal for help, stressing the need for medicines and clothing as well as food. One of the Baptist missionaries recently wrote to his board that "it will take at least five years to recover from the effects of this year from a health standpoint," and that "the suffering caused by disease and preventable undernourishment is indescribable."

President Asks Power to Give Veterans Jobs

EMPLOYMENT for returning service men, both now and after the war, is a matter in which everyone is rightly interested. The federal government has hundreds of thousands of jobs. One is tempted to say millions. What is more natural than the suggestion that men who have left private business and risked their lives in the military service of their country should be given prior rights of employment in its civil service? The suggestion is not only natural; it is, in our judgment, praiseworthy if it is taken as part of a more comprehensive plan to prevent postwar unemployment—of displaced workers in war industries, for example—and if it is carried out in such a way that care for the veterans is dissociated from care for the political fortunes of those persons in high office to whom the care of the veterans may be entrusted. The President has asked that Congress empower the President, for the duration of the war and for five years thereafter, to designate federal jobs to which veterans only shall be eligible. If his suggestions in full are carried out, veterans would be given a good handicap, on a point system, in competition for positions for which others also may compete, and the Civil Service Commission would be authorized to pass upon the reasons any government official may give for hiring a non-veteran when a veteran is available. But the authority to set up an exclusive preserve for veterans in public employment is to rest with the President. It is not without apprehension that one views the proposal to vest that power in the holder of the highest executive office, the incumbent of which is not only a

very probable candidate for re-election in 1944 but a very possible candidate in 1948. At the end of the war the returned veterans will be the most powerful political bloc in the country. To make their economic welfare dependent upon the decision of the President would be to encourage and assist his perennial candidacy. The proposal is so loaded with objectionable features that it should be decisively rejected.

Is There a Social Gospel?

THE Archbishop of Canterbury's recent statement of the "common ground" upon which Christians stand "when they address the secular order" is one of the most notable expressions of the Christian faith which have appeared in this period of transition from liberal theology to historical Christianity. We took occasion two weeks ago to examine and interpret in these columns the theological ground upon which his statement rested. Attention was especially directed to the fact, which many Christians tend to overlook, that orthodoxy, no less than liberal theology, has a social gospel—that is, it recognizes that the Christian church carries a unique responsibility for the character of civilization and must address the secular community by word and action with the purpose of molding it in conformity with Christian principles.

But the social gospel as expounded in terms of the archbishop's orthodoxy differs from the social gospel of liberal theology. This difference, we pointed out, appears in his emphasis upon the realism of the gospel as contrasted with the moralistic idealism of liberalism. "There is need," he says, "of a much clearer recognition of the part played in human behavior by subconscious egoisms, interests, deceptions and determinisms imposed by man's place in nature and history, by his cultural patterns and by his sinfulness."

As a critique of the idealism which characterizes the social moralism of liberal theology, the archbishop's words are justified. Simple moralism has been betrayed by its romantic conception of human nature and of history. Its romanticism has created the illusion that the ideal once proclaimed needs for its realization nothing more than that those to whom it applies shall straightway act upon it. But there are two facts which the simple moralist overlooks. (1) Men do not always want the ideal to be realized; they prefer something else. And (2) individuals and societies are often involved in situations where they cannot act in accordance with the moral ideal even if they would.

The mistake of the moralist is his disregard of the inexorables of life. He assumes too simply that the moral law makes absolute demands upon him in every situation, and that his freedom to respond to its demands is virtually unconditioned. (The pacifist who tries to avoid participation in an actual war is a case in point.) The truth is that the attempt to translate every human situation into terms which assume man's moral freedom, often breaks down. In such situations the moral problem becomes a religious problem. And upon this religious problem the Christian faith throws its most distinctive light. The archbishop's insistence that the social gospel must be reoriented at this deeper level of Christian realism is a major contribution to Christian thought and action. With the general sweep of his thesis we are in hearty accord.

I

But there is one place in the archbishop's statement which evokes radical dissent. To this we wish to give attention in some detail. Fortunately, the objectionable portion is confined to three paragraphs and is not utilized in the general context in support of the essential position expounded in the article. If it had been so utilized, or even kept in the writer's mind, it would, in our opinion, have invalidated the entire exposition. The paragraphs to which we refer are the last three of the section entitled "For Man as Rooted in Nature." (See The Christian Century of March 1, page 271, first column.) The view expressed in these paragraphs is, we believe, incompatible with the archbishop's argument as a whole and its acceptance would reduce the social gospel to futility. For this reason we say that it is fortunate that this exotic element is insulated from the general context; we are thus able to commend the illuminating statement in its main exposition while registering radical dissent at this particular spot.

In this section the archbishop goes over completely into the camp of those who see in the political scene only a struggle for power, a struggle in which the Christian witness has no other outlet than to work for "such a distribution and balance of power that a measure of justice may be achieved even among those who are actuated in the main by egoistic and sinful impulses." This, the archbishop concedes, with a touch of apology, is "a modest aim," as indeed, for Christians, it is! But he insists that "observance of political life leaves no doubt that this must be its [the Christian social witness'] primary concern." The question is pertinent whether such an aim, arising from such a conception of the nature of the political, economic and social scene, has any kinship at all with the Christian gospel. We are compelled to say that it has none.

The archbishop makes an effort to establish a connection. He rightly distinguishes between Christian charity (the New Testament *agape*) and natural love. "Christian charity," he says, "manifests itself in the temporal order as a supra-natural discernment of, and adhesion to, *justice* in relation to the equilibrium of power." The meaning of this studied sentence is not obvious. But it certainly means, negatively, that Christian charity is not directly applicable or pertinent to the political scene. Christian charity operates only as the *motive* for social action. Christians must not try to introduce Christian charity into the political scene, nor expect any response in kind to their Christian motivation. For the corporate units which constitute the political order are incapable of acting otherwise than as egoistic centers of power. Christians, therefore, can only strive for such a distribution of powers as will produce "a measure of justice." Justice, then, is the automatic effect of an equilibrium of power secured by such a distribution of power as will sustain the equilibrium.

The Christian, as Christian, has, thus, no special wit-

ness to bear in this struggle for power, no distinctive contribution to make to the cause of social justice. Though actuated by a Christian motive, he can only pool his ingenuity with the ingenuity of political leaders in securing an equilibrium of power from which "a measure of justice" will (or may?) automatically flow. His Christian faith is confined within his inner life as a motive for his exercise of this ingenuity, but it has no objective relevancy in the political scene. It is only "a supra-natural *discernment*" of the true nature of the political order as a struggle for power. How a "supra-natural" discernment of anything differs from a common-sense discernment the archbishop does not indicate. He relegates Christian charity to the community of the Christian church. And he insists that "the citizen and the churchman should remain distinct, though the same individual should be both." (This quotation was omitted in our slightly condensed form of the archbishop's article.)

II

The archbishop goes farther. He not only rules out Christian charity but he also rules out natural love, or humanitarian motives, from the relations of groups in the temporal order. "Associations," he says, "cannot love one another. A trade union cannot love an employers' federation, nor can one national state love another," though the members of one may love the members of another, and "this will help in negotiations" between them.

This elimination of the moral virtues—"natural" as well as Christian—from all human groups, including nations, reduces the whole interplay of the communal and organic life of man, from the family to the nation, to the level of an amoral struggle for purely egoistic interests. The archbishop is absolute in his statement. He does not say that groups *do not* love one another, nor that their selfish interests dominate their consideration of others; he says that they *cannot* love one another. Thus neither natural love nor Christian charity is applicable in the public order of the world. These virtues are possible only as between individuals and the exercise of Christian charity *(agape)* is practicable only within the Christian community.

The archbishop's reasoning in this section of his article is a body blow at the Christian social gospel. The social interpretation of Christianity as it emerged in modern Protestantism arose from the conviction that Jesus Christ addresses himself not only to individuals but to every organic self-conscious group or order in human society, and with the same gospel that he addresses to individual men and women. The archbishop's denial of the possibility of moral response to this appeal of Christ would cut away the foundations of the social gospel and remand Christian activity to the limited sphere of individual salvation.

We cannot believe that this was his intention. His statement, taken in its entirety, is the best answer to his description of the political scene as necessarily and irremediably a struggle of social egoisms for power. He believes that Christianity is a gospel for the "secular world." The whole purpose of his writing, he says, is to define the message which the Christian faith must deliver when it stands up to "address the world." Though he emphasizes the "alienation of the world from God," it is only in this section of his article that he carries this "alienation" to the point of social total depravity.

At the outset of his article, the archbishop indicates two alternative ways in which modern Christians approach the problem presented to their Christian faith when they undertake to carry it into the secular order. "Either Christians try to act as churchmen in the world, only to find that the world refuses to be ordered on the principles proper to the church; or else they look out for the secular policy most congenial to their Christian outlook, only to find that their Christianity is a dispensable adjunct of no practical importance." The result of both these procedures, he says, is "confusion and impotence."

The reader naturally expects that the archbishop will offer a third course in contrast with these alternatives. But he fails to do so. Instead, he falls into the very dilemma which he deplores in others. His description of all corporate entities as purely egoistic centers of power incapable of responding to either an altruistic or a Christian appeal would put him in the same category with those whose procedures he himself says are the cause of "confusion and impotence" among Christians. He, too, finds (1) "that the world refuses to be ordered on the principles proper to the church," and decides (2) "that Christianity is a dispensable adjunct of no practical importance" in the attainment of social or political justice. Only by the attainment of such an equilibrium of power that the egoistic centers of power, each pursuing its own selfish interest, will offset and check one another, can a measure of justice be achieved. How this measure of justice can even then be assured without assuming the moral responsiveness which the archbishop has denied to these centers of power, he does not say.

III

How remote is all this from any way of thinking that can be called Christian! And how radically it cuts the ground from under the social gospel! Christians, in proclaiming their Christian faith with its moral demands, must not expect a response from the political order, because the corporate units which constitute the political order are incapable of making such a response; they are by nature centers of egoistic power and can be controlled only by an equilibrium of power. How remote is this conception from that of Christian faith which sees all the kingdoms of this world as capable of accepting the sovereignty of Christ! The effect of the archbishop's conception would be to banish Christianity from the great out-of-doors of man's public life and relegate it to an in-door luxury of an elect community.

The archbishop rationalizes his analysis of the political order by insisting upon "the two distinct spheres of society and church, or the different realms of Law and Gospel." We believe his mind has been betrayed by this distinction. Unfortunately, he does not develop or clarify what he means by the "realm of Law." We may safely assume, however, that he has in mind the classic doctrine of Natural Law *(lex naturalis)*. But the appeal to the Natural Law as distinct from the gospel is dangerous for

the archbishop's description of the realities of the political order.

The doctrine of the Natural Law does, indeed, provide a pragmatic (but only a pragmatic) basis for Christians to cooperate with non-Christians in political action. But the conception of justice as arising from an equilibrium of egoistic power is incompatible with even the Natural Law, which is the universal moral law written into the very nature of the world and of man. This conception was well restated by the Delaware conference of 1942: "There is a moral order which is fundamental and eternal, and which is relevant *to the corporate life of men and the ordering of human society.*" (Italics ours.) The archbishop's reduction of "the corporate life of men" to a sheer power system in which a measure of human justice is to be secured by means of an equilibrium of conflicting corporate egoisms is incompatible with the "realm of Law" which he sets over against the irrelevancy of the Gospel.

The issue here can be stated briefly: Are the innumerable corporate entities (labor unions, employers' associations, nations, etc., cited by the archbishop as examples) which are the structural forms of human society incapable of acting otherwise than in the line of their egoistic interests (the archbishop says they *cannot* act altruistically), or are they morally responsible to one another, to humanity and to God? If they are morally responsible entities they are amenable to ideals. And for Christians to "dissociate their Christian witness in the temporal order from their idealism" is to leave the Christian witness with no voice at all, not even a moral voice. Christian action in the temporal order is reduced to sheer opportunism.

IV

Our criticism of this section of the archbishop's statement, it should be noted, does not extend to his conception of political society as a system of competing centers of power. To that realistic description we take no exception. We agree also with his rather obvious statement that "the elimination of power is impossible," and we insist with him that Christian realism must take account of the "subconscious egoisms, interests, deceptions and determinisms imposed by man's place in nature and history, by his cultural patterns and by his sinfulness."

Our criticism applies directly to the thesis that these corporate centers of power are only centers of *power,* and that the Christian witness in the secular order is primarily directed toward the maneuvering of these centers of power into an equilibrium in which power checks power. This conception removes the secular order utterly out of reach of the Christian witness to the sovereignty of the moral law. Contrary to this idea, Christians must insist that every such center of power is also a center of moral responsibility. It is more than a center of *power,* because it is also a center of the moral order of God's world. On the level of the "natural law," then, the Christian witness in the secular order concerns itself, not primarily with the *power* which inheres in these corporate centers, but with the *moral responsibility* which inheres in all power, both individual and corporate. And for the bearing of this witness the moral idealism which belongs to the Christian faith is as indispensable as the most clear-sighted realism.

But this is not the sum of the Christian witness. Christianity can easily be betrayed by this doctrine of the natural moral law. It is so betrayed if it assumes that the natural moral law is the law for the world while the law of Christ is the law only for the church. So stated, the dichotomy of Law and Gospel is intolerable. The distinction can be tolerated only pragmatically as a working basis for cooperation between Christians and non-Christians in the secular order. But Christians cannot consent that the law of Christ is inapplicable in the secular order. The Christian faith can never be satisfied to be shoved off into a "supra-natural" corner of the world. The law of Christ must proclaim itself as the true and only *natural law* by which men and nations must live and under which they are judged. The kingdoms of this world—that is, every corporate center of power, as well as every individual center of power—must become the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

This is the only distinctive witness which Christians, as Christians, can bear in the secular world. It projects a high goal. But from this high goal, however distant it may be and by whatsoever difficulties our way to it may be impeded, the eyes of Christian faith must never be lowered. For the Christian church, too, is a center of power, existing side by side with all other centers of power in the temporal scene. The realism of her gospel will qualify Christian action in the secular scene and temper her expectations, but if her idealism is foreshortened or eclipsed by her realism, or her realism dissociated from her idealism, the power of the Christian church will be lost and her divine vocation betrayed.

A Simpler World

HONESTY compels the admission that hope for a better postwar world is at a low ebb these days. Why? The reasons are many and complex. But there are at least five which evidently are having a direct and depressing effect on many Americans. The fact that Allied advance in North Africa and Italy has produced confusion rather than a democratic order in those areas is widely taken to augur badly for the future in other areas yet to be occupied. The fact that, as nazi power weakens, countries such as Greece and Yugoslavia have lapsed into internecine warfare is cause for misgiving. The fact that it has at last become clear to everyone that Russia will play the leading part in fixing the terms of the European peace constitutes a source of apprehension for some minds. The fact that obliteration bombing is turning whole cities into charnel houses makes many fear lest the very fabric of a postwar society is being destroyed. And the fact that the Atlantic Charter has been tossed aside is almost everywhere regarded as ominous.

At the time the United States entered the war the postwar outlook shared by many Americans was pretty much determined by the pattern of events following World

War I. The Allies were going to win the war—a knockout victory. Then there would be a peace conference, or perhaps two peace conferences, one for Europe and one for Asia. At that conference the Atlantic Charter, which had been written by the President of the United States and the prime minister of Great Britain, would fix the terms. Had not all the United Nations formally approved its promises? If there should be two conferences, it was expected that a Pacific Charter would shortly be written —as Wendell Willkie demanded from Chungking—which would lay down with equal definiteness the lines along which peace would be restored to the Far East.

Now, however, it is seen that this outcome, so generally pictured only a short while ago, is not to be. The Atlantic Charter is gone. After recent declarations of Russian and British policy, there is nothing President Roosevelt can do to revive it without producing a break between the United States and its principal allies. And there is no evidence that Mr. Roosevelt seriously mourns the charter's death. Nor is there the slightest evidence of any intention on the part of the Allies to write a Pacific Charter. Why waste time trying to woo the Orient with a Pacific Charter when Orientals can see all too clearly what happened to the Atlantic Charter?

On the other hand, Russia has become the "colossus" feared by Marshal Smuts and Lord Halifax. Mr. Churchill has told Parliament that Russia's decisions in Poland (key to eastern Europe), Yugoslavia (key to southeastern Europe) and at least parts of Germany (key to central Europe) must be accepted as the decisions of the Allies. That is to say, the victories being won by the Red army are clearing the way to clamp down power politics decisions on Europe. And power politics decisions are also in the offing for Asia.

The natural result among many persons of liberal outlook in this country, in Britain and in the British dominions has been a growth of extreme pessimism regarding the postwar future. The people who, two years ago, were expecting the war to produce such a world order as was called for at, for example, Delaware and Princeton, now wonder whether anything will come out of the war even as hopeful as came out of Versailles. Such modest proposals as the Six Pillars of Peace, which seemed to ask so little of victory when they were formulated, now appear far beyond any possibility of attainment.

But such pessimism is not necessary. The outlook for the postwar world is not beyond hope. The approach to the future may not follow the lines that were envisaged in the earlier stages of the war, but that does not mean that other approaches may not be found. The opportunity to build a better world order, not as the aim of the fighting but in the situation which the fighting will leave behind it, is not foreclosed. True, if one studies the details of the present world situation there is plenty of ground for misgiving. But if one looks at the prospect in the large, there is still ground for hope. A cautious hope, to be sure. But still hope.

The fact is that a much *simpler* world is coming out of this war. This does not mean that it will be a "better" or a "more just" world, or one more likely to insure lasting peace. But it does mean that it will be a world more open to the influence of such constructive forces as may be ready to go into operation at the end of the fighting. It will be a simpler world because in it there will be not more than four great powers whose policies, interests and desires will prove determinative. And these four will already have gained some experience in working together and will have —at least in the minds of the masses of their people—a lively realization of the importance of their continued cooperation.

It was not so after the last war. In forming the League of Nations, there were five powers which had to be granted permanent seats on the council—and that left Russia and Germany out of account. (To the lasting detriment of world peace.) As a matter of fact, in 1919 there were at least nine nations with pretensions to "star" roles in the drama of that time—Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Poland, Japan, China, the United States—with several others almost equally insistent on major parts. A large part of the trouble which followed grew out of the fact that the interests and ambitions of so many of these overlapped and clashed at so many points.

After this war, a far different situation will exist. Only four truly "great powers" will dominate the peace—Russia, Great Britain, China, the United States—and the political interests of these four will clash at only a few spots. Moreover, all four should genuinely desire peace. If Europe can be left after the war in some status other than that of a vast prison, with the victor powers acting as wardens who live in instant danger of a jail break, then there is reason to hope for a sufficiently long period of non-fighting to permit constructive processes of world pacification and unification to grow to commanding power.

Will ideological differences and suspicions persist? Of course they will. Under the political surface there will be economic, social and cultural tensions so widespread and so acute that the early decades of the postwar period will be filled with constant confusion and alarm. But why should such tensions lead to war or block cooperation between the four powers? If Russia is left to work out the unification of the immense Eurasian area that will naturally fall into her orbit by organizing it as a union of autonomous republics; if Great Britain turns to transforming her entire empire into a commonwealth; if the United States resists the temptation to embark on an imperialist career as an outlet for her energies; if China is given an honest chance to build her state and her domestic economy in accord with her potentialities—if there is good sense enough among these powers to permit these things to be, then why should there be another world war in another twenty years, or in fifty, or in a century?

We do not profess to know, at this stage, how the world organization which must be attained as the final structure of permanent peace is to be brought to pass. We see no hope for the establishment of such a body, fully rounded and exercising its ultimate powers, at the end of the fighting. Insofar as we can see ahead, it seems to us that the way of hope lies in the development of international bodies already functioning—such as UNRRA, the ILO, the BIS, the world court, or such projected bodies as the International Food Board and the half-dozen others that are already under discussion among the Allies. President

Roosevelt's request of Congress to grant permission for the projection to the whole world of cultural interchanges like those of the state department's Latin American program, fits into the same picture. If such international efforts prove capable of discharging an important function, then we would hope that eventually the time would come when the nations participating would insist that their work be coordinated and combined into what would prove to be a true world organization.

However, it is not now necessary to look thus far into the future. The hope to which we cling rests on facts and factors that can be seen today. It is possible to see *now* that the postwar period will be preponderantly shaped by four powers, no one of which need clash with any other if only there is a little wisdom among them; each one of which may profit from cooperation with all the others if only there is a little generosity among them. It is possible to see that these four powers may have no higher self-interest than peace for years to come. It is possible to see that the task of reconciling the interests and policies of four nations, each living in its separate geographical sphere, should be less difficult than was the task which Woodrow Wilson faced of reconciling nine, almost all of which were involved in nationalistic disputes. And it is possible, because of this prospect of a simpler political world, to hold fast to hope. While hope remains, the struggle toward the eventual goal of world community must not be allowed to falter, even though we no longer expect to attain that goal on the day of the "Cease firing" order.

The Speaker Who Cannot Stop

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: You must submit to a very ancient story. The boy wakes during the sermon and asks his father, "Is he not through yet?"

"Yes, he is through, but he cannot stop."

Perhaps you thoughtfully answer, "True. I too have been there."

So have I, but when I begin to collect stones to hurl at the offender, I wonder whether I have any right to cast the first stone. And I see the stern prophet looking through me, declaring, "Thou art the man."

Few men who have done much speaking can be without the memory of a time or times in which they had finished but could not stop. They overran the points, they took the passengers past their desired end, and at last with a desperate and fierce bump brought them to a stand in a cold and desolate and unwelcome halt.

I suggest to you, sir, that there are more reasons than one for this inability to stop. The most creditable one is that the speaker has been carried away by his theme. He is like Rabbi Duncan, who apologized for the length of his prayers by saying, "When you get in, it is hard to get out."

Perhaps the least creditable explanation is that the speaker on some matter of life and death has not prepared his discourse. "If only I can get going," he may have said, "I can leave the rest till the hour comes." So he gets along, and often loses the way, and the less he knows what he is going to say next, the more voluble he becomes, and the less able to stop. It is a serious offense for any speaker to debase the coinage of words by using them in a vague, foggy, non-stop way. I ask you, sir, how a man is to put down his passengers if he has not any idea through what country he is taking them.

But there are other reasons not at all seriously wrong in intention, but disastrous in their results. The preacher, shall we say, is absorbed with his subject. He has been thinking of it so long and so earnestly that he has a whole book upon it in his mind. One thing leads on to another and each seems to the speaker so important that he cannot bear to leave it out. He has not learned how to select, and what to retain. So to his prejudiced mind there never comes any signal that tells him the end is now approaching. "No," he cries, "this is not the end; I have something else to add." And in the old days he would even turn the hourglass when the sands had sunk and give himself another hour.

The hearer is left with the poor comfort that "even the weariest river winds somewhere safe to sea." But he may not come to that church again. The speaker is to blame for his failure to deny himself and to put aside precious passages in order to deliver his hearers at their true end. He cannot get everything in; he must attain his end by a stern and merciless selection, dictated by the plain fact that he is in a pulpit to give on that one occasion "the truth and nothing but the truth." But not the whole truth.

And this is a sound argument in favor of pastorates in which the preacher will be able to preach the whole counsel of God—but not at any one hour of worship.

There are many more important subjects, you might remark. So there are. But when I remember times in which I have seen an audience deeply moved by a five minutes' passionate appeal which would let none of the hearers ever look at life the same way again; when I remember the shock which I have experienced and caused when the words which had begun well never found an end, I am sure that to be through without ending is to administer profanely the sacrament of words.

Ever yours thoughtfully,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

Man, the Architect

HE looks too long on yesterday
Who builds a tomb;
No frantic toil on cenotaph
Can stay the doom
Of Time, no pyramid hold back the hour
At man's desire—
Yet he has glimpsed Eternity
Who builds a spire.

LESLIE SAVAGE CLARK.

The Spirit of the Christian Soldier

By Chiang Kai-shek

TO WOUNDED and sick officers and soldiers in all military hospitals: Your commander-in-chief does not for a moment forget the life and sufferings of you wounded and sick officers and men. Words fail fully to express my deep concern for you. I can only say: I should be bearing your sufferings for you. Why then are you suffering in my stead? Think, and you will understand what I mean. My mental anguish over your wounds and pain is more intense than any physical anguish you are enduring.

Care for the Wounded

On New Year's Day of this year I addressed a message to our splendid troops throughout the nation, pointing out certain important principles which should be observed. Another year has now passed. Soon we shall be celebrating the seventh New Year in our war of resistance. During this year we have fought many big and hard battles against the enemy. Not a few of our comrades have fallen upon the battlefield, carrying on the glorious traditions of the revolutionary army that founded our republic. Still more wounded comrades, old and new, have written by deeds of valor stories to make us sing and weep. Now they lie broken in body, maimed and crippled, in our army hospitals, seeking restoration of their physical health.

I salute you with pride, loyal and brave soldiers; at the same time I sympathize profoundly with you in your bodily distress. I have ordered officials everywhere to fulfill their duties to you on my behalf, and I have instructed all our army doctors to give you the best possible medical care so as to alleviate your sufferings and help you overcome your difficulties. Only thus can my concern for you be satisfied and my heart be comforted.

I have also decided, beginning with the new year, to invite earnest pastors from Christian churches in the land to visit you at your bedsides, to talk with you about the true way of life, to broaden your knowledge, to give you spiritual comfort and to lighten your load of suffering.

I myself wish to take advantage of this broadcast to say something to you wounded officers and men about the truths by which we soldiers should live.

Jesus the Exemplar

This is Christmas Eve. As we think of this Savior of men and of the world, his spirit of sacrifice and his martyrdom for the truth, we cannot but be moved. As you know, Jesus was the son of a poor family, his father being a carpenter. Moreover he grew up among an oppressed people at a time when they were suffering bitterly from foreign aggression, and yet for the sake of lofty and eternal ideals he served his own fellow countrymen and race and poured out his blood freely as a sacrifice for all mankind.

What was the secret of his power—such love of others, such fearlessness of death, such noble imperishable character? Let me tell you. It was because he knew the meaning of life, because he understood the purpose of life, because he grasped the truth about life. Therefore his infinite spirit fills heaven and earth and rules the universe.

I once said that man born in this universe has a heaven-given capacity to rise upward and to live for others. When this capacity is fully and creatively realized then man can stand erect and secure, unafraid and unashamed, in the vast universe and achieve the ideal of perfection. I have described this revolutionary philosophy in two sentences: "The purpose of life is seen in the advancement of life in all mankind; the meaning of life is found in the creation of ever new life throughout the universe." If we comprehend this revolutionary idea and give ourselves to lifelong struggle for it, then with inner certainty of soul and unfailing strength of body we may be able like Jesus Christ to attain imperishable life and become perfect men revered by mankind through all generations.

Comrades, I have spoken before of your world-renowned valor. You have fought and bled for your country and your people. You have displayed the highest traits of character. You have suffered and "lived through nine deaths" for humanity, for fatherland, for fellow countrymen and for principle. You have accomplished mighty deeds. But as long as you live on this earth, as long as we have not attained complete victory and freedom, so long does your responsibility remain; it is not yet fulfilled.

Live and Die Like Jesus

We revolutionary soldiers should live and die like Jesus. We should be ready to give our last drop of blood on a cross to cleanse humanity of evil and to create a shining new world of equality and freedom. Let every soldier as long as he lives and with all the strength he possesses perform his full duty to his country and to the world. For us soldiers the struggle cannot cease as long as any breath remains in our bodies. Looking at the innumerable heroes and martyrs that have gone before us and the unborn generations that will come after us we cannot but strain every nerve to complete our sacred mission. Your commander-in-chief cares deeply for you in your physical distress and even more in your mental misery and depression of spirit. He also knows that you must submit to the discipline of truth if you are to find comfort of soul and hold fast your spirit of struggle and sacrifice. And so again I put before you some of the essential conditions of spiritual culture and well developed character.

First in a true way of life comes faith. Faith gives life. What is the object of our faith today? The Three Principles—national independence, democracy, and the people's livelihood—which the father of our country bequeathed to us and which can save our country and people, mankind and the world. Dr. Sun Yat-sen left an important exhortation to our soldiers: "Let us with our perishable lives of a few score years establish for our nation

Radio broadcast on Christmas Eve, December 24, 1943, published in all newspapers in China on Christmas Day. Translated by Frank W. Price.

an imperishable existence of centuries and millenniums." Our individual lives are a part of the life of our race. Remember, heaven and earth and our parents have given us birth that we may be universal men who can transmit the past and create the future.

Democracy for the Whole World

Long life in ordinary speech means life of the physical body. But the physical body is simply a bundle of flesh and blood and bones. It is not our true life which is linked with the endless life of the Chinese nation and the ever living truth of the Three Principles. Only if our nation is immortal can we as individuals truly enjoy long life and immortality. As government of, by and for the people spreads over the world our lives will be as immortal as these great principles and as indestructible as heaven and earth itself. Understand and live by this truth and you can forget your anxieties. You can meet whatever comes, happiness or suffering, peace or danger. Your whole view of life and death will be changed. You will struggle more bravely and you will find peace of heart.

Next to faith I must point out the importance of love and patience. It is for love of your country and people that you have been wounded in this war against the invader and are enduring such pain. It is for love of family and kindred and ancestors that you have sworn vengeance against the aggressors and are now lying upon beds of suffering. Remember your love of fatherland and fellow countrymen and your pain will be eased. Think of the victory that lies ahead, the recovery of our lost territories, the return to your homes and ancestral graves, the achievement of all that we are fighting for, and you will find health returning more quickly to you. With love you can endure all the sharp arrows of sorrow and misfortune, with love your spirits can be at rest whatever happens to your bodies.

Finally we need patience. Without patience it is impossible to realize life's high hopes. Hope cannot exist without patience. Patience enables us to strive on and not give up half-way until the goal of our hopes is reached. Our greatest hope today is for a free, enlightened world and for a China that can stand equal and independent among the nations. Because of our effective resistance this hope is nearer to being realized and the full consummation is now within our sight. I am sure that this great expectation will nerve you to overcome all our final difficulties and to forget all your own trials.

Spirit of the True Soldier

All the military and party regulations and my various messages to the troops should be carefully studied and observed. While invalided you should endeavor to be just as good-natured and respectful as before to your medical officers, to your fellow soldiers and to your teachers. You should deny yourselves, think of others, and help and encourage one another in the same way as on the battlefield. Be affectionate and sincere to all your comrades, share what comes in life or death. Steel yourselves to meet suffering with love of country and a patient spirit. Do not let feelings of depression or rage get control of you. I am sure that you have learned through your own painful experiences the value of love and patience. Faith, hope and love—these are the three cardinal principles in the teaching of Jesus Christ. If you truly believe in these principles there will be no difficulty that you cannot overcome; you will have the power to realize your highest ideals and to help accomplish the revolutionary mission of our nation.

Comrades, I have mentioned only briefly these great teachings of Christianity. Later you will have opportunity to hear more about them from Christian friends and I am sure you will benefit greatly from them. This custom of visits by chaplains is not common in China as in Western countries. There communities, army groups, hospitals all have pastors who speak to the people on occasion about the truths by which they should live and give them spiritual security and solace. When a person meets with suffering, sorrow or depressing circumstances the pastor is ready to give comfort and encouragement.

I hope that our church friends in China who are engaged in this noble service will minister also to our wounded officers and soldiers. Let them with good educational methods suited to each situation bring spiritual guidance and inspiration to our men, teach them self-control and self-respect, show them how to be strong in character and help them to live according to the teachings of Jesus Christ, which can save our people and the whole world. Then there will be hope for the realization of the Three Principles of the people and the great tasks of our revolution can be completed. Let us all strive earnestly toward that goal.

My beloved wounded soldiers, take good care of yourselves. I pray God and Jesus Christ to relieve you speedily of your pain and to restore you to health so that you may help win the victory and re-establish our nation.

Processional

NOTING how minutes one by one
Fall toward an oubliette
And marking how the morning sun
Transcends an old regret,

Our puzzled minds are comforted
In spite of chills and aches
To know that slowly we are led
Beyond some old mistakes.

For what if wrinkles tell a tale
Of disappearing years,
They also forge protective mail
Against the hurt of tears.

Uncertainly though wisdom shares
With faith an honored place,
Our dimming eyes and graying hairs
Are messengers of grace.

Each geometric snowflake brings
Along the winter ways
The pattern of uncounted springs
From fragrant yesterdays.

ELIAS LIEBERMAN.

Conscripting Youth

By Oswald Garrison Villard

THE HOUSE military affairs committee is plainly determined to favor the bill which prescribes compulsory military or naval conscription for all boys reaching the age of 17. The bill is favored by Mrs. Roosevelt and the President, by all the big business men who have been behind the Selective Service law and the Austin-Wadsworth bill to conscript all labor. It is another sign of the speed with which we are accepting fascist standards. Universal conscription of youth has long been the foundation stone of the autocratic and militaristic European regimes which gave place in due course to the dictatorships. So now, having gone to war to conquer the dictators, we must take this leaf out of the dictators' book and make universal compulsory military service a part of the nation's peacetime way of life.

The unfairness of putting this proposal before the country in wartime is obvious. But that has not kept Mrs. Roosevelt from reiterating her belief in it at the very moment that she decried the protest of the fifteen clergymen against the all-out bombing of the German cities. In the middle of a war it is hardly the time to decide on this phase of our postwar living. We do not know how the war will end and we are not to wait to see whether our triumph will make unnecessary the maintenance of large military and naval forces. If we achieve a sane international organization, a world in arms will certainly not be needed.

Chairman May's Argument

The mere proposal is a revelation that it is impossible for a certain type of mentality to adjust itself to new situations and ways of thinking. Thus Chairman May, of the House military affairs committee, in advocating this conscription said: "In ten years we could build up a well trained army, including youthful reserves of 5,000,000 men. With an army of that size we should never again have to worry about not being prepared to defend ourselves on short notice." He thus brushes aside the fact that we shall have fully 8,000,000 trained veterans at hand when this war is over, the bulk of them somewhere between 18 and 25, and therefore capable of fighting modern wars for another thirteen years at least, according to our present standard of 38 years as a maximum for enlistment. Yet he speaks as if we should be so wholly without military reserves that we must build up 5,000,000 at once.

Then Mr. May added the familiar banality that if we had this new force and were ready to defend ourselves "future Hitlers would think twice before starting trouble." At this one rubs one's eyes in astonishment. Where has Mr. May been for the last twenty-five years? Can he give any case in which dictators have withheld their strokes because the countries they picked upon were well armed? In the last world war the kaiser did not hesitate to attack France and Russia simultaneously, although France had a splendid army, and the Russian army was the largest in the world and was not suspected of being as weak as it was. Undoubtedly Hitler underestimated the size and power of Stalin's army, but he was quite willing to take the risk of attacking Russia, despite the fact that he had not yet conquered England and that the United States was beginning to supply that country with military equipment. Japan attacked Russia in 1903 in the face of what seemed overwhelming odds. Similarly Japan was ready to attack our fleet although it certainly had nothing like our resources when it struck at Pearl Harbor. The dictator takes chances, and, as Calvin Coolidge put it to the American Legion when he was President of the United States, no amount of preparedness ever kept a country out of war or insured it victory when war came. The fates, the imponderables, even the mentality of the commanders may offset the larger battalions.

What Will Satisfy the Army?

Mr. May is not even consistent when he says that his plan is to provide military training for all our boys reaching the age of 17, because he speaks of only 500,000 being trained. Actually, about 1,250,000 young men reach the fatal age annually. How will he select 500,000 boys, and how will he explain to the parents of those drafted the justice of the procedure? The army will, of course, never be satisfied with 500,000 annual recruits. They will demand the full measure of universal service, just as General MacArthur demanded it in the Philippines and insisted that boys *from 12 years up* should be put in training for the military life, in the exact manner of Hitler and Mussolini!

Nor will the army be satisfied with one year of service. I have heard experts testifying before congressional committees say that it is impossible to train young men in modern warfare in less than two years, and there seems to be supporting evidence in the statements of war correspondents that our men now being trained in England, many of whom have been under arms for two years, are much fitter for the test of battle than the men whom we sent into the enemy's fire in North Africa.

Conscription at Seventeen

Again, Mr. May is guilty of a curious inconsistency. He is absolutely opposed to the recruitment today of 17-year-olders unless the army is willing to guarantee that they will be trained at home for one year and not sent abroad until their eighteenth birthday. While he would meet criticism by saying that the 17-year-olders would be drilled in peacetime, the fact would be that in the event of sudden hostilities, or an emergency overseas of some kind or another, they would be rushed to the front unless we had in addition a large regular army to make this unnecessary. Perhaps that is Mr. May's idea.

But there is strong testimony available that even in peacetime boys of seventeen are too young, too undeveloped mentally and physically to be given the terrifically exacting

training that marks military service today. Captain Edward Rickenbacker has just denounced the proposal to lower the draft age to 17 on the ground that that is too young and that it is "good sense and practical patriotism" for boys to get the additional education to make them better citizens and, if necessary, better fighters. Said he: "I urge everyone who has an intelligent understanding of what education means to the future of this nation to fight this movement with all the strength at his command." While the captain did not apply this directly to peacetime conscription, it certainly sounds as if he would oppose that interruption of the education of our boys as well as wartime service at 17. No European country ever conscripted 17-year-olders, to the best of my knowledge. The Germans, the worst offenders, put the age considerably higher in prewar days.

The fact that Mr. May does not tell us how large our other forces are going to be is further proof that the whole picture is not being laid before the American people. Thus, we do not know whether the regular army of the future is to be 300,000 or 500,000 men. To train 500,000 boys, to say nothing of a million, calls for a very large corps of officers and non-commissioned officers, and there must be many thousands of caretakers in charge of the government property needed to house and drill the conscripts, to say nothing of the regulars. That those now in power in Washington are planning to girdle the globe with navy yards, flying fields, forts, military stations of every variety, I know of my own knowledge, having heard it from the lips of those in high office. Are the conscripts to be trained in Formosa and Madagascar and Siam, in Dakar, at Casablanca, in Monrovia, or even in Persia? That is another question upon which the fathers and mothers of America should have light before this legislation is passed.

A Policy of Defeatism

That this proposal will be backed by large groups admits of no doubt. Mr. May's slogan, "We must not be caught unprepared again," is even being echoed by so unusually able a man as President William Mather Lewis of Lafayette College, who joins Mrs. Roosevelt in thinking that we must drill boys and girls after this war, but limits the period to the militarily impossible one of six months. We live by slogans in America. We repeat them endlessly from one community to another. But we never stop to analyze them and their inner significance. President Lewis does not tell us why he falls back upon this policy of defeatism—for that it is, defeatism pure and simple. If we cannot make over the world to insure peace by other methods than huge armaments—the armaments which President Hoover, when in office, said must inevitably lower the standard of living for workers all over the world—why are we fighting this war? Why, if we are going to disarm Germany and Japan completely—as I devoutly hope we shall—will it be necessary for us to be armed to the teeth?

What country will remain armed in any way so as to threaten us except Russia? But Russia is our ally, our friend. Are we not being besought on every side to have faith in Russia? We shall not have to fear Italy, or Spain, or England, or Canada, and heaven knows we shall not be in danger from France. Neither will China threaten us. The answer to a Russian threat, if there should be such, is not our placing these further military burdens upon our citizens, or England's further impoverishing her so often underprivileged people, but world-wide disarmament, a federation of the world, and if necessary a world police force, the outlawing of war.

War with Russia?

Certainly we cannot hope to defeat Russia, not even if we have ten years in which to prepare. Hitler has proved, and Napoleon before him, that Russia is impregnable to outside attack. With every year of her recovery and the continuing development of her magnificent resources—the greatest in the world, far surpassing our own—she will be a harder and harder nut for any nation to crack. On the other hand, it will be impossible for her to conquer the United States if we and the rest of the world take the position that armaments must not be maintained, and form a union of all of the rest of the nations to move against an aggressor.

Plainly all this will be profoundly affected by the postwar settlement. That is the soundest reason for deferring decision on the May proposal until we see what happens after the settlement. The enormous military supplies we shall carry over at the end of the war, the millions of veterans, our vast fleet, both naval and mercantile, by far the greatest in the world—all these will certainly safeguard us for the next five years if there should be any country left with the manpower and the resources to fight again during that time.

Of course those groups in our communal life who profit by a great standing army and navy will press hard for immediate decision—if only on the ground that it will help them in making the transition from a wartime to a peacetime footing. The Electric Boat Company, which builds the majority of our submarines, will insist that it must have orders. The Bath Iron Works, which since Pearl Harbor is building only destroyers, will demand that our destroyer strength be kept up. The purveyors of ammunition, of the hundreds of thousands of items entering into the equipment of a modern army, the clothing manufacturers and all the rest of the merchants who have been called upon to supply our forces, will similarly demand outlets. We shall hear the cry again that we must have preparedness, we must have war machinery ready to begin work at once when the next war comes. I omit all reference to the cost of the conscription policy, because under Mr. Roosevelt we have shown that money means absolutely nothing to us, and that 50 billions of dollars can be pulled out of the air as readily as five million.

Another Step toward Dictatorship

But back of all these arguments are the ideological ones—yes, if you please, the ethical and religious ones. Is this horrible slaughter of mankind not to alter the system which sanctifies wars as a proper means for the settlement of disputes and rivalries between nations? Are we not going to advance the contention that human life is sacred? Do we mean what we say when we talk about the Four Freedoms? Are we sincere in crying out against

the dictatorships and then demanding of our own youth that at 17 they become the pawns of their government to be sacrificed by any group of men who may happen to work their way into office on some entirely different program than that of going to war, and then turn round and put us into somebody else's struggle? If so, it will be pretty hard to sustain the thesis that human beings are rational animals, or that the Americans or any others are really in earnest in their desire for union now, for one human family, for the substitution of law and order and peace for a world of chaos and anarchy.

No, I have not wandered from Chairman May's proposal. All this relates directly to peacetime conscription of our youth. It also relates directly to whether this country is going fascist, is going to live under a dictatorship or not. If Congress votes this conscription now then it will have set another milestone on the road which leads away from our democracy, our precious American institutions, toward a goal which will make future generations wonder why we ever went to war with Hitler and his nazis when we followed in their footsteps in so many ways.

Preview of the Postwar World

II. Great Britain and the Empire

By William Henry Chamberlin

LIKE the other victorious powers, Great Britain will face a mixed balance sheet of national well-being and security when the war comes to an end. Assuming an all-out victory over Germany and Japan, Great Britain will feel a warm and lively sense of delivery from the peril of actual invasion and conquest, a peril far more genuine and imminent in England than it ever was in this country. The most formidable military challenge to British imperial rule in the East will have been struck down.

But there will be little disposition and little opportunity for the British government and the British people to relax in an atmosphere of ease and comfortable return to the relatively pleasant, untroubled life of the prewar years. We cannot yet know what the final cost of this war will be to England in terms of human lives. So far it has fortunately been much lower than it was in the last war. But the grimmest and costliest struggles may well lie ahead, both in Europe and in Asia.

Living Standards Down

One can already reckon, however, that Great Britain's material sacrifices for victory have been very heavy, and that some of these sacrifices are likely to assume a permanent or semi-permanent character. While full employment and scientifically planned dieting may have improved the condition of the former unemployed and irregularly employed, the leveling in standards of living during the war has certainly been downward, not upward. It is a question whether an unemployed worker on the dole in 1938 could not have bought as much food and clothing as the employed Briton can obtain at the present time under a rationing system infinitely more rigorous than the American as regards food and very severe as to clothing.

British social problems, arising out of wholesale disruption of family life, will in all probability be more serious than our own after the war, although less desperate than in many of the oppressed, war-ravaged and half-starved countries of the Continent. Great Britain has been involved in the war longer than the United States and has carried out a much more rigid mobilization of manpower and womanpower, with all that this means in the temporary breakup of families and the uprooting of people from their homes.

Warning from Smuts

While the United States will certainly face serious readjustment problems after the war, we can feel some security in the possession of rich natural resources and an industrial system of immense productive power. Assuming that tolerable solutions will be found for perplexing technical questions of taxation, national debt repayment, wise use of government spending power, we can feel confident that after the war and immediate famine relief problems are disposed of we need not stint ourselves artificially on food and clothing. And our industries, free from the demands of all-out war, will certainly be in a position to resume the output of automobiles, refrigerators, electrical appliances, all the varied things that enter into our high mechanical standard of living.

The thoughtful Englishman can feel no such confidence in a comparatively swift and almost automatic return to peacetime comforts and conveniences. As the astute elder statesman of the British empire, Marshal Smuts, recently said: "From a material economic point of view she [England] will be a poor country. She has put in her all. This country has held nothing back; there is nothing left in the till. . . ." And the marshal went on to discuss how unequal would be the partnership between England, "weak in her European resources," and the two huge land powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The heart of the matter is that both the United States and the Soviet Union, different as they are in many other respects, draw their economic strength primarily from within their own boundaries. England owes its position as a world power and its relatively high standard of living in large measure to sources outside its islands, to its position as the center of the world's largest empire, to its long experience in trade and investment in every continent, to its cosmopolitan shipping, banking and insurance activi-

ties. Of all the great powers England is the least capable of economic self-sufficiency, the most dependent on a smoothly working mechanism of international trade and finance. Even the austere diet to which Britons have become accustomed in time of war is maintained only with the help of lend-lease shipments from the United States and similar aid from Canada.

Economic Outlook

So England will not get back its citrus fruits and fresh vegetables and unrationed meat and chocolate and thousands of other comforts and little luxuries merely as a result of defeating Germany. There will have to be a resumption of the normal flow of trade and exchange. And here the situation is complicated because England has disposed of most of its foreign investments in financing its war effort. The former flow of income from dividends and interest from sources outside of England will largely cease after the war and it is scarcely possible that the United States and Canada will continue to send lend-lease aid indefinitely. The hard truth is that England will have to produce more, work harder, trade more energetically and successfully in foreign markets in order to regain its prewar standard of living.

In the field of security new problems are looming on the horizon to succeed those which will be drastically solved with the crushing of Germany and Japan. Despite the great emotional enthusiasm aroused by Russia's showing in the war, the prospective overwhelming predominance of the Soviet Union on the European continent is not, one may suspect, a cause of unmitigated satisfaction to farsighted British statesmen. It runs counter to all the traditions of British balance-of-power policy. And Stalin has already given several proofs that he will not be the easiest and most reliable partner in international relations.

Apprehensions of Russia

One of the broadest and most significant statements of British policy, in foreign and home affairs, was Winston Churchill's broadcast of March 21, 1943. The British prime minister declared himself in favor of a "Council of Europe," a European regional organization that was to function under "a world institution embodying or representing the United Nations, and some day all nations." He also suggested that the smaller powers should form federations, in order to increase their power within the Council of Europe.

But during the year that has passed since Mr. Churchill's broadcast Soviet power has grown visibly; and the Soviet government has flatly opposed schemes of federation in eastern and central Europe. Speaking on November 25, 1943, Marshal Smuts advocated another solution: the integration into the British empire or commonwealth of the small democracies of western Europe. If one reads between the lines of both the Churchill and the Smuts pronouncements it is easy to recognize the traditional British apprehension of the domination of the Continent by a single power.

The physical danger that seemed to threaten the British empire in Asia with annihilation when Singapore fell will be removed with the defeat of Japan. But this will not eliminate the deep moral and spiritual conflict that grows out of the irreconcilability of imperialism, with its underlying concepts of race superiority and tutelage, with the awakening national consciousness of the Oriental peoples. By piling up enough superiority in warships, tanks and airplanes it will be possible to defeat an enemy like Japan that thinks in militarist terms. But ideas of racial equality and self-government cannot be disposed of so simply and easily.

There will be need for high statesmanship and for a greater display of the British genius for compromise and adjustment in aiming at a solution of the eternal problem of India. Here a leadership less wedded to traditional imperialist conceptions than Mr. Churchill's will probably be necessary. The prime minister has been one of the greatest of British war leaders, in a clear line of descent from Queen Elizabeth, William III and the two Pitts. He has displayed qualities of imagination, generosity, flexibility in recognizing the claims of social and economic democracy in a modern society, despite his aristocratic and conservative background.

Mr. Churchill and Empire

But empire has been Mr. Churchill's blind spot. To reform, modernize and ultimately transform and liquidate the old-fashioned and increasingly untenable system under which hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa are ruled from remote European capitals is one of the major constructive tasks of the postwar era. It is a task that concerns the United States almost as much as Great Britain. For if there is to be an Anglo-American military alliance or a wider scheme of world security under which America will assume partial responsibility for "policing" remote areas of the world, Americans certainly have a right to be consulted as to whether conditions in these areas are such that prevention of violent change by military action is both morally right and politically feasible.

Badly handled, this issue of imperialism may easily become the starting point of a third world war of the most terrible kind, a war of race and color. And, like many other conflicts, such a war would be all the more tragic because it could easily be avoided if proper attitudes and policies were adopted in time. Some timorous persons probably think of the liquidation of empire in terms of the most savage outbursts of the East against Western domination, the Indian Mutiny or the Boxer Uprising. (In both these cases, incidentally, the savagery was by no means all on the Asiatic side.)

But in the more advanced countries of the modern East it is easy to envisage a peaceful, orderly transition from Western domination to a more healthy status where necessary Western capital investment and technical aid would be all the more welcome because they would not be associated with any element of outside rule. Great Britain and other industrialized countries could play in relation to India and the relatively advanced countries of the Near and Middle East much the same role that America plays in relation to Mexico and Brazil, developing mutually beneficial economic relations, but on terms acceptable

to representative governments of the peoples concerned.

The Church of England, because of its intermediate position between Roman Catholicism and the more aggressively non-conformist types of Protestantism, has sometimes been called a "bridge church." And England, the country, occupies a similar "bridge" position between its two mighty allies, the United States and the Soviet Union. There is every likelihood that the British economy after the war will occupy a middle position, as between the American and the Russian, with more controls than ours, with more freedom than the Russian. The British people are certainly eager to maintain friendly relations both with the United States, so vital to the British position in Asia, and with the Soviet Union, so prospectively powerful in the future Europe, and the British government would probably like to play the role of mediator betwen the two countries.

Misgivings with Regard to Allies

There are some misgivings, however, mainly political as regards the Soviet Union, mainly economic as regards the United States. The British arrived at the conviction, as a result of bitter experiences, that they could not, in the larger sense of the phrase, "do business with Hitler." But it still remains to be proved whether it will be possible to "do business with Stalin," once the groundwork for Soviet ascendancy on the Continent has been laid by the smashing of Germany. And the insulting suggestion in the severely controlled Communist party organ, *Pravda,* published only a few weeks after the Teheran conference had supposedly ended in an atmosphere of all-around cordiality, that Great Britain was engaged in treacherous negotiations for a separate peace, has not contributed to the dispelling of doubts on this score. The same observation holds true as regards Stalin's brusque, intransigent insistence on settling his relations with Poland with little regard for the Atlantic Charter or for the implied British treaty obligations toward Poland.

British apprehensions about America are of another character. The whole British economy, along with individual living standards, has been pared to the bone by war exigencies. It is estimated that there is already a shortage of four million dwelling houses—more than ten years of output at the highest prewar building rates. Everything tends to become worn out, from clothes to rolling stock. The demands for repairs and replacements will tax the industrial capacity of the country for years after the end of hostilities. At the same time, as has been pointed out, Great Britain must trade extensively and profitably in order to regain its prewar standard of living. And British business men and economists view with some concern the competitive possibilities of the enormous American war production machine, much fresher and stronger than the British, and conceivably geared to a drive for new markets after the war.

The view is sometimes rather hastily expressed that Great Britain may "go communist" after the war. Now it is fantastically unlikely that the British Communist party, a little, but only a little, stronger than the American in proportion to population, would either win an electoral majority or seize power by a coup d'état, like Lenin in Russia in 1917. Nor is it likely that any British government after the war would take the Soviet economic setup as a model and nationalize every form of economic activity.

Social Changes Ahead

What is probable, and what has already occurred to some extent, is that British public opinion will favor a larger measure of public control and of social security within the framework of what will still remain, at least by Soviet Russian standards, a free enterprise economy. Mr. Churchill is not ranked on the left in economic matters; but he has publicly described himself as "a strong partisan of national compulsory insurance for all classes for all purposes from the cradle to the grave." British business men are more willing than American to accept a relation of partnership with the government under which business enterprise acquires more security at the price of accepting more government controls in such matters as foreign trade and allotment of raw materials.

There is, however, a subtler danger to the old free play of parliamentary opposition than the virtually nonexistent chance of a communist seizure of power. This lies in the indefinite prolongation after the war of the present system of coalition government and parliamentary truce. Such a system may have been justified by the tremendous emergency of the war; and there are Englishmen who argue for its maintenance on the ground that postwar difficulties will be so serious that a free play of critical opposition cannot be tolerated. But this is just a mild form of totalitarianism—minus the concentration camps and the castor oil and the firing squads.

Should a system under which all the main organized parties—Conservative, Labor, the remnants of the Liberals—now represented in the cabinet go on indefinitely, there would be no means by which the people could register effective disapproval of government policies and demands for change. One hopes that normal division of public opinion on major issues will find expression along party lines in a not too distant future. Otherwise England, the classical stronghold of parliamentarism, will have succumbed to a milder variant of the very one-party system which has led to such dire consequences in Germany and Italy.

The Halifax Proposals

It is natural that England should have been putting out feelers in various directions for postwar cooperation. Mr. Churchill made a strong bid for an Anglo-American military alliance in his speech at Harvard last autumn. Marshal Smuts has suggested the association of the smaller western European democracies with the British empire. The overseas members of the British commonwealth of nations figure very considerably in British calculations.

There will be a conference of dominion prime ministers in London in the spring of 1944 and Lord Halifax recently posed some interesting questions in a speech at Toronto. Discreetly refraining from advocacy of specific measures (Canada, South Afriea, Australia and New Zealand are proud of their independence) the British statesman and diplomat suggested the necessity and desir-

ability of bringing the British peoples into closer unity of thought and action in "all common interests, foreign policy, defense, economics, colonial questions and communications."

Dominion Ties Slackening

Canadian reaction has been lively and varied. It falls into three main categories. There is a minority of ultra-loyalists who would consent to almost any request of the British government. There is an opposed minority of intransigent French-Canadian nationalists who bristle with instinctive resentment and suspicion at any proposal emanating from an official British source. In between these extremes is a probably decisive body of Canadian public opinion, cordial to England but not prepared to sacrifice Canada's status as a sovereign state. This middle-of-the-road opinion could probably be won for any drastic change in the present relationship between Great Britain and Canada only if assured that this would fit in with some larger scheme of world collective security and would involve no weakening of Canada's ties with the United States.

Apart from the sentimental connection, there are natural economic connections between the dominions, large producers of foodstuffs and raw materials, and industrialized England. But the situation is complicated because, especially during the present war, the dominions, notably Canada, have gone in for heavy programs of industrialization themselves. The time has long passed, if it ever existed, when the British empire could be welded into a tight exclusive political and economic block. After the experience of the present war Australia and New Zealand will look to the United States as much as to Great Britain for protection and cooperation.

No large country in the world is perhaps so closely identified by its vital interests with peace and orderly processes of international trade and exchange as is Great Britain. So we may expect British influence on the peace, despite individuals like Lord Vansittart, to be moderate and constructive. If certain problems of imperial rule and of international trade are worked out in a mutually generous, understanding and farsighted spirit, we may hope that America and Great Britain, not as an exclusive combination but as part of an ever wider and more liberal world federation, may make a valuable contribution toward turning the tide that has been running so heavily against civilization since 1914.

This is the second of a series of articles dealing with the postwar outlook for various countries. The next will deal with the Soviet Union.

BOOKS

The Jew as Farmer

OUR JEWISH FARMERS. *By Gabriel Davidson. L. B. Fischer, New York, $2.50.*

THE JEWS originally were an agricultural people. This way of life was integrally expressed in their folkways, culture, literature and religion. The twentieth century Jews are urbanites. The story of the two thousand years in which Jews turned away from agriculture is one of persecution, proscription of land ownership, ghettos and migration. Gabriel Davidson's book is an account of the Jewish Agricultural Society, organized in 1900 for the purpose of helping Jews to become established on the land. The author estimates that between eighty and one hundred thousand Jews in the United States are now partly or wholly engaged in agriculture. Many of these were in some way assisted by the Jewish Agricultural Society. The states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut contain an overwhelming majority of these farmers, although Jewish farmers are widely distributed. The society wishes for even wider dispersal and does not favor colonies made up solely of Jews.

In 1935 a survey of three hundred Jewish families, settled in seventeen states, revealed that they were recruited from a wide variety of occupations. Sixty-one per cent went to the farm to escape urban restraints and inhibitions and to enjoy the peace and freedom. Economic and health considerations were secondary. Thirty-three per cent were engaged in general farming and 32 per cent in poultry raising; 69 per cent had been on their farms more than ten years. A majority of the farms had sanitary plumbing. Thirty-seven per cent of children over eighteen years of age remained on the farm. Most Jews prefer to own the farm rather than to rent. Apparently they are getting along well with their non-Jewish neighbors.

The Agricultural Society provides many services, such as locating farms, protecting prospective farmers from unscrupulous real estate agents, and offering loans according to a policy which has more concern for the farmer than for the security of the mortgage. It disseminates information through a paper and pamphlets, gives personal counsel and holds short-term schools and conferences. It sponsors cooperative efforts of various types, encourages proper sanitation and is concerned that families have religious training and fellowship.

During the nineteenth century, a number of attempts were made at colonization under conditions as diverse as those offered by New York state, western Kansas and Oregon. The projects were hastily conceived, poorly planned, and executed without adequate experience. The present policy is to settle individual families. The Jewish Agricultural Society encourages settlement on the land of only those families that have a genuine desire and aptitude for it. The brief history of Jews in American agriculture, says Dr. Davidson, demonstrates that Jews have both an inclination to agriculture and competency in it.

This book holds particular interest for those persons concerned for the settlement of people on the land and the decentralization of population and industry. Its publication is timely because of the growing concern among Protestants and Catholics for the relationship of man to land. Dr. Davidson has told with competency a story that should be told at this time. If read in connection with the steps being taken by Protestant bodies like the Church of the Brethren and Catholic farm colonies like those near Cincinnati and in

Iowa to hold their people close to the soil, it will help to give an understanding of one of the most constructive movements now under way in America.

MARK RICH.

Regenerating the Universities

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE MODERN WORLD. *By Arnold S. Nash. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

THIS book is an undigested reader's digest of most of the recent books and articles on education or universities. It begins with a superficial analysis of what's wrong with the modern university and (by implication) with the modern world. What's wrong is the existence of a worship of science. The book continues with a discussion of the totalitarian university as a false remedy, and concludes with the advocacy of a "middle course between the relativistic 'scientific' and the absolutist answers." A final peroration urges a religious view of education as a whole.

There is much truth in this book and most of it is in quotations. Reading it is like leafing through an album of snapshots taken by different people in different places at different times and from different points of view. The impression it makes is slight and confused, nor are the author's recommendations clear enough to be helpful. We need, he says, a new frame of reference to put science in. This new frame is the social origin of knowledge. Since knowledge has a social origin, truth is "relational." The discussion of this new position on page 243 clearly escapes "absolutism," but how it can claim to escape "relativism" and at the same time say "human knowledge is always relative" is not clear to this reader. In short, the book presents an already familiar diagnosis of the disease that afflicts education, a diagnosis that is buttressed by scores of long quotations; but the prescription is obscure and vague.

ERNEST CADMAN COLWELL.

Books in Brief

VICTORY WITHOUT PEACE. *By Roger Burlingame and Alden Stevens. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.75.*

If anything can be learned from history beyond the fact that nothing can be learned from history, it should be possible to learn something from the events surrounding and following the end of World War I that will serve at least as a warning of what may happen at the conclusion of the present struggle. The authors have based their narrative on solid research, but they present it with the customary trappings of fiction—conversations and descriptions which may, and probably do, represent the substance of the situations but in which the details are obviously supplied by imagination rather than from the record. Lenin said so-and-so, "his hard, calculating eyes watching the round, fiery face of Leon Trotsky." In a secret tête-à-tête after dinner at Lodge's house, the senator "turned his shrewd eyes on his friend." In the Senate, "Lodge rose, and the hand that held the resolution was shaking." This is described as "a new kind of history," but it would be more accurate to call it a new variant of the old technique of Thucydides who put imaginary speeches into the mouths of his leading characters. Both are questionable methods of writing history. Yet Thucydides wrote pretty reliable history, and so do Burlingame and Stevens if you take their work as an honest though imaginative dramatization of the recorded facts. There are no heroes in their story, not even Wilson; and even Lodge and Jim Watson are not quite complete villains. They add no *haec fabula docet* and their account is not heavily slanted toward any specific judgment or conclusion, except the obvious one that we will have to watch our step in making a peace after this war lest a worse thing befall us.

STREET CORNER SOCIETY, THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF AN ITALIAN SLUM. *By William Foote Whyte. University of Chicago Press, $3.00.*

Mr. Whyte lived for three and a half years in an Italian neighborhood in an unidentified American city referred to as "Eastern City." A reference to the "Cleveland Italian Club" should perhaps not be taken too seriously in this connection. It doesn't matter. Though it was no secret that he was writing a book, Mr. Whyte won confidence in his good faith and sincere friendliness. He learned Italian, was admitted to a street-corner gang and participated in the life of the community in all its aspects. This kind of sociological research is something very different from circulating questionnaires or even setting up as a counselor or in a settlement house and making "case studies." The results are illuminating. They include an intimate and detailed view of the social processes, the moral code, the reaction of the people to the efforts of do-gooders to uplift them, the methods of racketeers and the police (separately and in collaboration), and the intricacies of politics. A great part of the book, and perhaps the most important part, deals with the relation of all these elements of the social structure to political interests and campaigns. Mr. Whyte must have got a lot of fun out of his experience while doing this very substantial piece of social research, if the writer of this paragraph can judge by his own three-months residence a few years ago in a Sicilian section of Chicago for a similar purpose, which was pursued, however, with far less skill and persistence than characterized the author of this volume.

THE ROMANCE OF THE MINISTRY. *By Raymond Calkins. Pilgrim Press, $2.00.*

A few years ago a bishop wrote an article on the attractions of the ministry as a calling. Among the advantages listed were prominence in the community, half-fare on the railroads, and the possibility of stock market tips from strategically placed parishioners. Dr. Calkins' approach is from a wholly different angle. In a book addressed primarily to young ministers and theological students, but instructive also to older pastors and to the laity, he discusses the onerous but rewarding tasks of the ministry and the qualifications they demand in those who would perform them. Much wise counsel is offered with reference to various aspects of the minister's work, all of which supports the conclusion that it is *important.* Renewed conviction as to the importance of his work is perhaps the thing most needed by the preacher who feels pocketed in a small or obscure parish.

Books Received

Life's Unanswered Questions. By Harold Cooke Phillips. Harper, $1.50. The questions with which Dr. Phillips deals in these sixteen sermons are not unanswerable. They are the fundamental ones of life and religion which are asked anew by the experiences of every generation and which, however often answered, will never stay answered. This vigorous and forthright preacher (First Baptist Church, Cleveland) sees these perennial problems in the context of present conditions. His solutions are not new, but he shows how the old answers may be applied to the questions in their most modern forms.

The Tale of a Wonderful Ladder, Thoughts and Pictures. By Nathan A. Barack. Bloch Pub. Co. The "ladder" is prophetic Judaism and talmudic teaching. The "pictures" are purely verbal.

Though the author (rabbi of Beth el Congregation, Pheonix, Ariz.) plants the foot of his ladder on firm historical ground, his interest is in the problems, the dangers and the opportunities of the present day for Jews and gentiles alike.

The Netherlands. Edited by Bartholomew Landheer. University of California Press, $5.00. (To be reviewed.)

Old Testament Bible Lessons for the Home. By Margaret Dager Lomas. Westminster Press, $1.25. Twenty-six stories (including some passages that are not exactly stories) are treated according to this pattern: a historical introduction, the biblical text, a brief exposition, a modern illustrative story, topics for conversation, a memory verse, a prayer, and suggestions of things to do and to read during the following week. This plan is very intelligently carried out. The book is especially designed for juniors and intermediates who may not have opportunity to attend Sunday school. It will also be instructive for those who do.

This Year of Our Lord, Sermons for Special Occasions. By Andrew Watterson Blackwood. Westminster Press, $2.00. Sermons are given for the principal days of the Christian year and for such other occasions as Mother's Day, a baccalaureate Sunday, Labor Day, vacation time, thanksgiving, and others. Dr. Blackwood is professor of homiletics at Princeton Theological Seminary.

Opening the Door for God, A Manual for Parents. By Herman J. Sweet. Westminster Press, $1.00. An expert and useful book on the parents' part in the religious education of children. The basic assumption is that this is a responsibility that cannot be wholly delegated to the church, the school, or any other agency outside of the family—a sound assumption on which a structure of wise counsel is built.

The Inward Journey of Isaac Penington. By Robert J. Leach. Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa., 25 cents. An abbreviation of the 1,400-page work of the great Quaker mystic (1617-79).

On the Threshold of World Order. By Vera Micheles Dean. Foreign Policy Association, 25 cents. A "Headline" pamphlet covering as wide a range of postwar problems as could be brought within the compass of 96 pages.

Be Ye Comforted. Compiled by S. Burman Long. Meador, 25 cents. A little anthology of poetry concerning death and the life beyond, with the addition of appropriate texts.

Rebellion in the Backlands: Os Sertoes. By Euclides da Cunha. Translated from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam. University of Chicago Press, $5.00. (To be reviewed.)

Life's Unanswered Questions. By Harold Cooke Phillips. Harper, $1.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Church and the Liberal Society. By Emmet John Hughes. Princeton University Press, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

CORRESPONDENCE

The Logic of War

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "Obliteration bombing," against which fifteen of America's pacifist ministers protested, is the natural result of the course which we are now following. War is not a gentlemen's game. It is a game in which no holds are barred. When once embarked upon it must be carried to its logical conclusion. Men must be made killers; children must be starved; civilians must be bombed; and sacred places must be destroyed. Having granted the unnecessary necessity, one must grant all the hell that goes with it. Once having started there is no stopping. Therefore, no one supporting this bestial project has a right to protest anything necessary for its successful prosecution. It must be carried through to the bitter end with no regard to righteousness or decency; it is only victory that counts.

Community Church, JOHN D. LANGENES.
Custer, S. D.

In Behalf of Europe's Masses

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am an American citizen, born in Bulgaria. I received my education in Bulgaria, England and the United States. As a young man I dedicated my life to missionary service in Bulgaria. This gave me ample opportunity to get acquainted with these people, to know their likes and dislikes, their love of righteousness and hatred, of oppression and dictatorship. That is why I am deeply concerned about what is transpiring in Bulgaria.

I was deeply disturbed the other day when I read an A. P. dispatch: "All of Central Sofia Wrecked; the former British legation destroyed." That means that my home, which borders the British legation, must be wrecked. The property does not concern me so much, but I am gravely concerned about my elderly mother and little sister, both of whom lived in this house. My home is many miles away from any military objective. What an irony! This war has brought many a confused problem like this one. Here I buy war bonds and stamps, I gave my blood to the "blood bank," but over there bombers have destroyed some of the most precious things which I cherish—mother, home.

What has my mother done to suffer so bitterly? Why should she or any other mother pay with her life for the sins of others? I am not going to defend the corrupt fascistic leaders who sold Bulgaria and most of Europe to the Axis against the will and desire of the people. Like other guilty traitors and Quislings they should pay for their sins. *But I do plead for the helpless masses.* They deserve our sympathy. They have not had free press, free radio. . . . They have been kept in thick darkness.

It is for these innocent multitudes all over Europe that I plead. Please give them a fair break. Don't blast them out of their homes, don't kill them, don't destroy their last spark of faith. They are looking to us for help and justice. Shall we who are fighting for the establishment of the Four Freedoms follow the pattern of those that have destroyed freedom?

What shall it be? Bombs, destruction, demoralization and internal communistic revolt or the outstretched hand of a friend in need and the preservation of democracy? Give them a break.

Minneapolis, Minn. PAUL S. RAHNEFF.

Not Etymology But Politics

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Norman Thomas says the Communist policy is Machiavellianism writ large. What does this mean? When Milton wrote "Presbyter is priest writ large" he meant "spelled out in full," for "priest" is by etymology an abbreviated form of "presbyter."

Ballard Vale, Mass. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Need for Fumigation

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Referring to Wolcott Cutler's article, "Flags in the Chancel?" here's another case for the FBI. While the 72 responses to Mr. Cutler's query are certainly misleading as to the real position of Christendom in America, they do call for disavowal by the church and indicate a need for some fumigation.

The American flag is not military regalia. It is the sacred emblem of our God-given country. It comes into our church because it seeks good company, and it stands side by side with the Christian banner because it recognizes the true and living God, seeks his blessing, and wishes to be identified with the onward marching Christian soldiers. It is the symbol of all we hold dear, for which we, under God, would live and, if necessary, give our lives.

Choose ye this day for or against our country's emblem in the chancel. But as for me and my house we will never darken the door of any holy of holies which is intolerant to the sacred banner of a nation that is truly as much the chosen people of God as the Israel who worshiped Jehovah in the presence of the Ark of the

Covenant. America is the land which we pray God to guide through the night with the light from above, and with no apologies to the sons of Hirohito or the Reich. If they don't like it they need not come in, but the flag is not going out. They came here because they preferred what our flag had to give them rather than their own. Let them worship in its presence and thank God for the privilege.

United Church, Huntsburg, Ohio. H. Kenneth Smith.

Flags in Church

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Since when did the flag of the United States become identified with "paganism," as indicated in an article in your issue of February 23? Since when did it denote a "worship" of this symbol to have it occupy a place in the body of the church?

The article, "Flags in the Chancel?" discloses an interesting bit of deduction and argument. The flag has no place in the chancel because, forsooth, it is a "symbol of nationalism," whereas the church is international, universal. Does it follow that because I honor and love humanity and humanity's symbols, I cannot love my own land and its symbols?

The very English language is a "symbol of nationalism." Why not banish singing from the churches until we develop Esperanto or some other "international" tongue? Why not banish the English Bible, for the benefit of non-English folk in the congregation? Why not chuck away the English hymnals until we can get a hymnal in the Unknown Tongue, say, or in some other "non-nationalistic" language?

No, if after a whole year I could find only seventy-two people who agreed with me on a subject of this sort, I would certainly drop the subject. And if no stronger or more manly arguments could be advanced than are embraced in the "flags-in-the-chancel" article, I think I would change my views on it. At least I would not boast that I had found fewer than one hundred supporters among a hundred million adults!

Great Barrington, Mass. Thomas F. Opie.

He's Another Kind of Pilot

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I must offer a factual correction of the news item of your February 9 issue regarding my participation in the work of the Maine seacoast mission. I am not a "licensed coastal pilot," and would not want to sail under any such false colors, much as I would covet the qualifications to assume full command of such an able vessel as the Sunbeam.

Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Conn. Robbins Wolcott Barstow.

Patriots Will Not Harken

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: The letter, "Call Off the Attack" in the February 23 issue of The Christian Century is just the sort of response one might expect to Mr. Villard's article in the previous issue, "What Invasion Will Mean." Of course invasion will cost lives, many lives. It is a stupendous undertaking which no one would want to minimize and its cost is likely to be high. But if we were to follow the unthinkable advice of calling off the attack the millions of lives already lost by all of us and our allies and the oppressed peoples in the occupied countries will have been lost in vain.

American patriots will never harken to such advice. "We are well able to overcome them." The people of America whose sons and daughters are bearing the brunt of the battle and the people of our loyal allies want no poltroon negotiated peace with the enemy. They will press on for unconditional surrender. They mean to see the military defeat of the nazis and their Axis partners. And when these are shorn of power they will treat directly with the peoples of the occupied countries, including Germany, which is occupied and controlled by a degenerate leadership.

This means we shall bomb and bomb, and invade and invade, and meet all hazards with undeviating purpose until we join our brave allies in what was once Berlin. The lesson is even long overdue to the German people that they cannot afford to follow such leadership as they have espoused and sustained in the last few decades. Only thus can we hope for a durable peace.

First Presbyterian Church, Rocky Ford, Colo. Archibald J. Kearns.

By V-Mail

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: The first copies of The Christian Century reached me yesterday at my new overseas address. I should like to commend you for your continued editorial opposition to what you so aptly call a "racial witch-hunt" against Japanese-Americans on the Pacific coast. While I was stationed in California I was shocked by the symptoms of racial hatred, engendered by the Hearst papers in particular. I was pleased to find a more moderate opinion among the average thoughtful soldiers than was manifested by local civilians.

Assemblyman Chester Gannon, with whom I had some correspondence on the subject, advised me to "get into action" against the Japanese and see if my feelings stayed the same. Well, they're the same.

c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif. (Name withheld by request.)

Using a Windfall

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Having come into a little windfall, and having all sorts of places wherein to put it to work, nonetheless I think I will put the money into something that needs help—the special airmail edition of The Christian Century you send to Canon Allen in Chungking. I enclose $31.00 to cover five weeks of this special copy. Please enter four of the weeks in the names of four friends of mine, once fellow students at Union, and now on active duty with the navy as chaplains: W. Jackson Jarman, Union 1940; W. Stuart Barr, Union 1941; John D. Wolf, Union 1942; Robert Appleyard, Union 1943. This will help the alumni out in West China to know that we who once went to the same school in New York haven't forgotten them.

(Name withheld by request.)

[This contribution to the special fund for an airmail copy of The Christian Century, specially printed on tissue paper, being sent each week to Canon Allen, makes possible the continuation of this service for a brief period. It costs $6.20 per week. The service is important, as stated by Canon Allen in a letter which was printed in our issue of November 10, 1943. But further funds are needed, and promptly, in order to assure our friends in West China of uninterrupted weekly mailings. Will *you* be one of 52 subscribers who will each pay for one issue—$6.20—during the next 12 months? By so doing you will help justify Canon Allen's hope that we "may be able to continue the gift of this copy while the blockade on ordinary mail lasts." Prompt acknowledgment of your gift will be made, and Canon Allen will be supplied with a list of all donors. Make out your check to The Christian Century and send it to the Business Manager, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Illinois.]

Have We?

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Dr. Braden is right in considering the cults a challenge to the "regular" churches. A Jehovah's Witness I talked to put that challenge in a particularly succinct form. After he finished one of his cult's customary philippics on the evils of the Roman Catholic hierarchy—with a few side-swipes at Greek Orthodoxy for good measure—I asked him what he had against the Protestants. He shrugged, and with a depreciating smile said, "They've forgotten how to protest." Have we?

Boston, Mass. Wallace Hamilton.

Teach Religion In Scots Schools

Hold Morning Services and Emphasize Citizenship Training—Prisoners of Japanese Report Fair Treatment

(Correspondence from Scotland)

EDINBURGH, Feb. 1.—In a broadcast in March 1943, the British prime minister stated that religion had been a rock in the life and character of the British people, and that this fundamental element must never be taken from our schools. The report of the advisory committee on education in Scotland has just been issued suggesting a five years' experiment in training in citizenship. The Church of Scotland was one of the bodies in consultation with this council. Many of the suggestions put forward represent its views in regard to religious teaching in our schools. While full liberty of conscience is safeguarded, it is urged that wherever possible a morning service should be universally held at the opening of the school day. The syllabus of religious instruction has already been approved by the Protestant denominations and by the education authorities.

* * *

Churches Agree on Broadcast Plan

During the first three months of this year the British Broadcasting Company is making an interesting experiment in religious broadcasting. The morning and evening Sunday services during these months have been carefully planned by a group of ministers representing many denominations. All the addresses have some bearing on the general subject, "Man's Dilemma and God's Answer." The speakers are attempting to answer the questions regarding religion which are haunting men's minds at the present hour. Among these speakers are such prominent figures as Canon Cockin, Principal Elmslie, C. H. Dodd, Dr. Iremonger and J. S. Stewart. It is the first time that coordination in broadcast religious teaching and worship has been attempted on such a scale.

* * *

Appoint Ministers for Deaf and Dumb

As the result of a petition to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland last year, special ministers are to be ordained for work among the deaf and dumb. So far in Scotland we have had a few missionaries working among these unfortunates, but not men of the status of ordained ministers. Now however a missionary to the deaf and dumb has been ordained in Glasgow and others will follow. There are in Scotland six established places of worship for the deaf and dumb in the main cities, besides other centers. In conducting his service the minister to the deaf and dumb uses both sign language and also speech for the benefit of those who can lip-read. Naturally he must be careful to confront his congregation and to see that his face is well lighted. There are about 3,500 registered deaf and dumb persons in Scotland.

* * *

Biography Published of George Adam Smith

No little stir has been caused in literary circles in this country by the publication of a biography of the late Sir George Adam Smith by his widow, Lady Adam Smith. The author describes her book as a "personal memoir and family chronicle." It is a picture of the man himself in the setting of his home and family and among his personal friends, rather than a study of the great Old Testament scholar and his work. Probably it is better so; for while there have been many Old Testament scholars there have been few men with the vivid prophetic genius of George Adam Smith, with such a gift for friendship or with such a colorful and unique personality.

* * *

Hold Church Membership Class for Troops

In December there was held in the north of England a unique type of army school. It lasted for five days, and its purpose was to prepare men for taking full membership in the church. The 700 who attended were there at their own desire and request. The great majority were Scots from highland and lowland regiments. The whole time of these five days was devoted to religious instruction, discussion and worship. The bishop of the diocese instructed those joining the Church of England, and at the close confirmed 66 of them.

* * *

Nelson Eddy Pays Visit to Aden

News has just reached Scotland of the visit paid to Aden, that fiery-hot station at the mouth of the Red sea, by Nelson Eddy, the famous film star. While there, he gave a concert to United States service men. In the audience was the minister of the local Scots kirk. Next day this minister sought out Nelson Eddy and asked him if he would sing at the evening service in the little Scots kirk. "Yes," he said, after a moment's thought, "if you will not be offended if I walk out." He was due to leave Aden almost immediately. When evening came, he slipped into the congregation, joined in the last verse of the hymn "Crown Him with Many Crowns," and, after the reading of the 121st psalm by a squadron leader, he sang "The Lord's Prayer" magnificently, as a prayer.

* * *

Japanese Prisoners Are Well Treated

The news of the atrocities that have been perpetrated by the Japanese on American and British prisoners of war has been received with horror in this country as well as in America. There are few people here who have not some friend or acquaintance in Japanese hands, and the thought of what they are undergoing is one of the hardest trials that the war has brought. On the other hand, some reports come from people interned in Siam, Hongkong and Shanghai which tell of reasonably good treatment.

GEORGE CARSTAIRS.

Lords Debate Obliteration Issue

Bishops Question Bombing Policy Now Followed—Establish Lectureship in Memory of Church Verger

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Feb. 15.—In the House of Lords last week the Bishop of Chichester asked the government to state its policy regarding the bombing of towns in enemy countries with special reference to the effect of such bombing on civilians as well as on objects of non-military and non-industrial significance in the area attacked. He spoke as one of the most convinced anti-nazis, and with no desire to criticize the pilots, gunmen and air crews. This was one of his chief concerns: "Did the government understand the full force of what our aerial bombardment was doing and what it was now destroying? Was it alive not only to the vastness of the material damage, much of which is irreparable, but also to the harvest it was laying up for the future relationships of the peoples of Europe?" He recognized the legitimacy of concentrated attack on industrial and military objectives, on airfields and air bases, especially in view of the coming of the second front. He fully realized that any attacks on centers of war industry and transport inevitably carried with them the killing of civilians. But there must be a fair balance between the means employed and the purpose achieved. To obliterate a whole town because certain portions contained military and industrial establishments was to reject the balance.

* * *

Asks Government To Reconsider

The speech was a careful and guarded appeal to the government to reconsider in the light of principle and experience the policy of area bombing. Archbishop Lord Lang, who did not follow the bishop's speech—which however he described as sincere, courageous and impressive—drew attention to the preservation of objects of historical and cultural interest. He did not think that the policy of the government had been adhered to in recent bombing of cities. There had been an attempt to destroy whole cities. He deplored as shocking the language which was often used: "They let us have it. Let us give it to them tenfold, pay them back in their own coin." There must be some real moral deterioration, he said, in the indulgence of this mood.

* * *

Lords Approve Continuance

Lord Cranborne answered on behalf of the government. He declared that the R.A.F. had never indulged in purely terror raids. It would be wrong for us to gloat over the destruction of German cities. The targets attacked were the administrative centers, great industrial towns, the ports and centers of operations. They were attacking the nazi machine to make it more difficult

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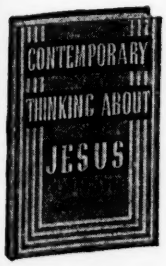

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for Germany and her allies to carry on the war. That was why they attacked Essen, Magdeburg, Cologne, Hamburg, Mannheim, Berlin. The minister pointed out how such action involved inevitably the bringing to a standstill of the whole life of these cities. It was not only these cities which were suffering. What were Russians, Poles, Czechs and others suffering? He could give no hope that we would abate our bombing policy. By its means we were endeavoring to fulfill our obligation to our own people, to our allies and to the world. Lord Cranborne carried with him the general approval of the lords. But it is not likely that this is the last that will be heard of this matter, which weighs heavily on very many of our people.

* * *

Beachhead Battle Worries Britons

There is no question that the news from the Anzio bridgehead last week gave rise to anxiety. There was in the air a sense of disappointment which was not allayed by the messages from correspondents. The landing and what followed were regarded as rehearsals of other such operations and as such they had an importance which went far beyond their immediate bearing on the war. On Saturday night Mr. Churchill brought a revived and reasonable hope. He rested his message upon reports from General Wilson and General Alexander, who had expressed "their confidence that the great battle now proceeding for the capture of Rome will be won. All battles," he added, "are anxious as they approach their climax, but there is no justification for pessimism, according to the latest reports from the responsible authorities." Mr. Churchill has never spoken soft words when disaster threatened us. It will therefore be understood how his message from Downing Street has been a most important event in our national life.

* * *

Lecture in Honor Of Verger

Some time ago I recalled the honor done to the memory of William Ainslie, verger of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. A permanent memorial of "William" of a very gracious and entirely new character is to be instituted in the church which he loved and served. A lecture is to be given each year by some distinguished Christian; it will be called "the William Ainslie Memorial Lecture." The first will be given this June by the Archbishop of Canterbury. For many centuries the faithful have sung, "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." But this is perhaps the first time such a man who did become a doorkeeper has had his name in the bidding prayer before an annual lecture.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Former Christian Century Staff Member Dies

F. F. Grim, who served for several years as office editor of The Christian Century before the paper was refounded in 1908, died at his home in Albuquerque, N. M., on Feb. 23. For many years he was a member of the faculty of the Atlantic Christian College at Wilson, N. C., retiring only last year. At the time of his death he was teaching in the University of New Mexico and preaching in a church in a near-by town. He was 72.

New Law Lifts Pay in South

Minimum Wage Ruling Establishes National Floor under Compensation—Proposes to Call Negroes 'Mr.'

(Correspondence from Tennessee)

NASHVILLE, March 1.—The wage and hour division of the U. S. Department of Labor reports that through its power to raise minimum wages in American industry to 40 cents per hour, more than 12,000,000 workers have been benefited. The largest number of these have been in the south. The Tennessee Consolidated Coal Company of Tracy City, the owners and managers of which have registered most of the objections to the raise, were compelled to pay nine employees $1,365 in back wages. The president of this company died some time ago. He was rated by the newspapers as at least a millionaire who built up his fortune out of Grundy county coal. Grundy is the poorest county in the state of Tennessee.

* * *

Southern Policy Group To Work for Equality

After twenty-five years of useful service, the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation passes out of existence and turns its work over to the Southern Regional Council. This new organization is composed of a group of distinguished southerners of both races, whose work will be based upon the platform of the Durham conference. In that meeting southern Negro leaders proposed a program that can be worked in the south with some hope of success. In its quarter of a century the Interracial Commission, led by R. B. Eleazer, did an outstanding piece of work through the organization of local interracial committees. While most of these committees, which at one time numbered 117, have passed out of existence, they did much to leaven public opinion throughout the region. The work of the FEPC through local committees and the growing interracial composition of labor unions in the south should be of great help to the Southern Regional Council.

* * *

Editor Proposes to Break Taboo

Editor Virginius Dabney of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* now proposes that newspaper editors and reporters in reporting on events among Negro people put themselves in the place of the Negroes and act upon the basis of the Golden Rule. He suggests that the titles "Mr." and "Mrs." be used in printing the names of colored people the same as for white people and that journalists "be bold, imaginative and forthright when misunderstanding and misrepresentation seem likely to bring a head-on clash." He has also suggested ending segregation on public conveyances.

* * *

Baptist Publishing House Celebrates

Southern Negro Baptists are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of their great publishing house by Rev. Richard Henry Boyd. Mr. Boyd was born a slave, went with his master to the army, became a cowboy, then a sawmill worker and without schooling entered the Baptist ministry as a missionary among his people. Then taking two years' work in a Baptist training school for ministers he entered upon a career that resulted in the founding of a publishing house. It is now housed in two large plants in the city of Nashville, and sends school and church literature to some 3,000,000 Negro Baptists. These two plants are models of the printing industry.

* * *

Poll Tax Senator Favors Filibuster

An interchange of correspondence with Kenneth McKeller of Tennessee reveals his unwillingness to stand against a filibuster as a means of keeping the Senate from voting upon the anti-poll tax bill. He believes it is a question of state's rights. The other problem, that of a few filibusterers denying a great deliberative assembly its right to vote, he refuses to face. A candidate for congressman in Virginia has filed a declaration against the right of his state to be represented in Congress on the basis of the number of its citizens instead of the number of its voters. He calls for a reapportionment, basing his demand upon the Constitution. The purpose, of course, is to battle the poll tax rather than southern representation.

* * *

White Youth Favor Job Equality

The Methodist Youth Fellowship has protested strongly against the inequities visited upon colored people. The fellowship declared: "We decry present practices in relation to the awarding of jobs in war industries, appointment of chaplains, granting of commissions to men and women in the armed forces, establishment of training fields for colored fliers and all segregations based upon racial discrimination. We are solidly opposed to discrimination against racial, national or economic minorities. We recommend that the Methodist Youth Fellowship in the states where certain un-American practices exist use its influence toward the elimination of them." This organization has its national headquarters in Nashville.

* * *

Work or Fight Laws Result in Peonage

In Mississippi a sawmill operator was convicted of holding a man in peonage, forcing him to work out a debt. He was given both a fine and a prison sentence but the prison sentence was suspended pending two years of good behavior. In Savannah, Ga., a white tavern operator was charged with holding women in peonage, compelling them to work as waitresses, hostesses, clerks and prostitutes. He obtained their services by paying off their fines and holding them in peonage while they repaid their debt. Maryland's "work or fight" law has resulted in some trials for holding its victims in peonage. It provides that every able-bodied man between the ages of 16 and 60, excepting professional and service men, shall work at the prevailing wage. Peonage cases arise over bailing out persons convicted under this act and holding them in durance while working out their fine.

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Baptists Suffer Heavily in War

Southern Church Leaders Discuss Plans for Reconstruction—San Antonio Churches Develop Aid to Troops

(Correspondence from Texas)

WACO, March 5.—A meeting of the Southern Baptist executive committee, called by Charles W. Daniel at El Dorado, Ark., next week, will consider the rehabilitation of $1,123,300 worth of properties belonging to the Foreign Mission Board which have been destroyed in China, Japan, the Near East, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Spain and Yugoslavia. The secretaries and editors from 18 states will assemble, and will meet with the denomination's committees on world planning and postwar programs. This is in preparation for the Southern Baptist Convention, which was omitted last year. According to the announcement made by its president, Pat M. Neff of Waco, the convention will be held this year in Atlanta beginning on May 16.

* * *

Lutherans Stress Child Evangelism

Texas Lutherans, stirred by statistics showing that 17,000,000 children in the United States are receiving no formal religious education, are promoting an effort to engage all their members in behalf of child evangelism. Coincidentally they are striving to increase the circulation of the *Texas Messenger,* a supplement to the *Lutheran Witness.* They are also pushing a drive for $100,000 for a memorial to their enlisted men at Concordia College, Austin.

* * *

Churches Give Dinners To Soldiers

Preaching in the First Baptist Church, San Antonio (now the second-largest church in Texas), this correspondent was impressed with the marked activities of the churches in this military center in ministering to the men in service. The "Alamo City" has been cited as furnishing the greatest proportionate number of men to the armed forces, as suffering the largest percentage of casualties and as being more nearly the "mother-in-law" of Uncle Sam's boys than any other American city. Churches like St. Mark's Episcopal, Travis Park Methodist and First Baptist serve dinner to the men on Sundays, keep open recreation halls and provide entertainment on a large scale.

* * *

Churches Pay Their Debts

Church dedications multiply with the steady retirement of debt. Here in Waco two of the largest congregations of their respective denominations have just celebrated with formal occasions. The first was Central Christian, Dr. W. D. Daugherty, pastor; the second was Austin Avenue Methodist, Dr. A. Norman Evans, pastor, the sermon being by Bishop Ivan Lee Holt.

* * *

And So Forth

As successor to F. M. McConnell, 84, who has just retired from the editorship of the *Standard,* largest Baptist newspaper, Dr. David M. Gardner, pastor of First Baptist Church, St. Petersburg, Fla., has recently been elected.

Annual pastors' schools at Southern Methodist University and Texas Christian University both featured Halford E. Luccock, professor of homiletics at Yale, as their chief speaker. At Baylor University Religious Emphasis Week was led by Dr. R. G. Lee of Memphis.

Deaths among religious leaders include the following: Bishop Sam R. Hay, Houston; Mrs. Frank P. Culver, Fort Worth; and Baptist District Missionary Lem Hodges, Houston.

J. M. DAWSON.

Segregation Strengthened In Mississippi

The Mississippi legislature has passed a statute fixing more firmly upon this state the already existing pattern of racial segregation. Crowded wartime travel has everywhere increased the difficulty of enforcing Jimcrow laws. Virginia may seek the solution by forgetting "Jim Crow"; Mississippi has moved in the opposite direction by making segregation laws more strict and sharply defined. House Bill 237 and Senate Bill 51 as passed provide for a conspicuous barrier to separate Negro and white people in common carriers. The bill, sponsored by Senator Gore, provides for a partition two feet wide on each side of the bus, extending to the ceiling. No person may sit or stand in the compartment assigned to the other race, and when one compartment is full no more passengers of that race may be taken on the bus, even though the other compartment be relatively empty. Stringent fines for the passenger, driver and bus company are provided in case of violation. The bills passed in the senate with only four dissenting votes, and in the house by unanimous consent.

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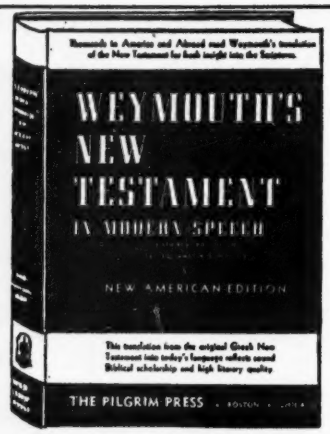

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Council Opposes Shrine Attack

Federal Council Officers Dissociate that Body from Sectarians' Proposal—Pacifists Discuss Fascism

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, March 3.—The officers of the Federal Council of Churches this week felt it necessary to disclaim any responsibility for the recent statement of the so-called American Council of Christian Churches urging the bombing of Shinto shrines in Japan. To the surprise and chagrin of these officers, many people attributed the statement to the Federal Council. They did not seem to realize that the American Council is an organization set up in 1942 by representatives of nine minute sects, some of them composed of only a few churches. The Federal Council was founded nearly 40 years ago and includes 24 of the principal Protestant churches.

* * *

Charles E. Hughes, Jr., Heads Unity Committee

Mayor LaGuardia announced on Sunday the appointment of a city-wide committee on unity "to promote understanding and mutual respect among all the racial groups in our city." Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., was named chairman and 18 other prominent citizens representing all faiths and varied interests make up the committee's membership. The Protestant members, besides Mr. Hughes, include Henry Sloane Coffin; John H. Johnson, rector of St. Martin's Episcopal Church; Col. Allan M. Pope of the Welfare Council; Henry C. Turner, former president of the board of education; Channing Tobias of the National Y. M. C. A.; Dr. William R. Granger of Brooklyn Hospital; and Mrs. Dorothy Hendrickson, public school principal. Private funds have been provided for the maintenance of an adequate staff to observe and study unfavorable conditions and dangerous trends, analyze their causes objectively and suggest necessary steps to combat them.

* * *

United Pacifist Conference Debates Peace Now

The seventh annual United Pacifist Conference was held at Labor Temple over the week end. Of the 400 attending, 70 were parolees from the C.P.S. camps who were working in hospital units or other such limited services on the eastern seaboard. Twelve organizations were represented. The conference considered "Problems of Conscription and Conscientious Objectors," "The International Outlook" and "The Threat of Postwar Fascism." Evan Thomas in his opening address emphasized the importance that pacifists understand that they "were not the only ones who want to end war." They differ from non-pacifists, he said, "in that they reject the war method." In the discussion of the international outlook Frederick J. Libby and A. J. Muste stressed the need for our offering a generous set of peace aims at this time if we hope to win the Axis peoples to our side. They insisted the alternative would be Russian domination of Europe for years to come. Resolutions were passed urging the feeding of starving Europe and India, an investigation of the federal prison at Springfield, Mo., the passage of the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, allotments for conscientious objectors and justice for Japanese-Americans.

* * *

Feel Press Exploits Acts of Vandals

Much has been in the papers of late concerning vandalism in the city. Although anti-Semitism and racial bias are a serious threat to the ideal of Christian brotherhood in the metropolitan area, many of the newspaper exposés of incidents turn out to be pretty small matters. Almost two-thirds of a column about the desecration of Riverside Church appeared in the papers. The actual marking on the building was four inches square and Dr. Fosdick declared he "did not attach any importance to it at all." A report came from Queens that an Episcopal church had been vandalized and $20,000 damage done. On investigation this estimate shrank to $500 and then to "no real monetary consequence." The mayor suggested a spanking for the 12-year-old boy involved. St. Patrick's Cathedral had crude hammers and sickles painted on its sides—also thought to be the work of children.

* * *

Police Seek Juvenile Delinquents

Police are checking all dance halls and cabarets in the city to ferret out boys and girls under 18 years of age who attend such places. The mayor has ordered that any hall in which juveniles are found be closed immediately. On one night girls of from 13 to 15 years of age were apprehended. The drive is especially aimed at girls under 16. Those found are at once taken into custody, all patrons are ordered out and the place is closed. A summons is then sent out to the owner or manager to appear in court to show why he should be allowed to reopen his place.

* * *

Says Britain Will Rebuild 4,000 Churches

William Cecil Northcott, the home secretary of the London Missionary Society, who is in this country under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches and the British ministry of information, preached in the Congregational Church, Scarsdale, on Sunday. He told of the plans for rebuilding 4,000 churches after the war with government aid and of the new education bill. He called the latter "the biggest attempt ever made to teach the Christian religion to young people."

* * *

And So Forth

The Grand Cross of St. Sava was presented to Bishop William T. Manning this week "on behalf of the king and the royal Yugoslav government" by Ambassador Fotitch.

It was announced last week by Everett R. Clinchy of the National Conference of Christians and Jews that over $100,000 had been raised by the textile and allied industries to aid the conference in combating race prejudice.

The Red Cross campaign for $22,000,000 was opened in New York by the presentation of a check for $150,000 from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union national office.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Willkie Leads In Wisconsin

Primary Candidates Preparing for Poll Next Month—Coffin Addresses Area Meeting of Presbyterians

(Correspondence from Wisconsin)

MADISON, March 5.—The Progressive party is in the political doldrums in its home state of Wisconsin. It is unable as a third party to effect an organization on national issues. In the important primaries of April 4, there will be little opposition to Mr. Roosevelt among the 52 hopeful aspirants for the 26 seats at the Democratic national convention. Among the Republicans, however, 89 convention candidates are split four ways: 19 for Dewey, 20 for Stassen, 22 for McArthur, and 24 for Willkie. Willkie is the only potential nominee to carry a full slate of 24, the convention quota. Political medicine was made in this Blackhawk country when State Assembly Speaker Vernon Thomson recently bolted the Dewey for the Willkie campfires.

* * *

Madison Debates Issue of Municipal Ownership

A referendum on the proposed purchase of the Madison Gas & Electric Co. will confront the electors of Madison in the same election. The federal public utilities commission appears to have directed the sale of the utility by its present out-of-state holding company. The local utility is on every hand acknowledged to be efficiently operated, with exceptionally low rates. Proponents of the bill argue that the $700,000 net annual profit should not go out of the state and might well go to the municipality. The proponents of private operation argue that public ownership would deprive the community and the country of utility taxes. A former mayor of the city, who is pro private ownership, alleges that the municipally owned City Water Co. lost money for 20 years before its present management. The present manager and the state public utilities commission concur in denying the allegation, saying that this publicly owned utility has never lost money. Business interests are opposing public purchase. Labor groups are for it.

* * *

Coffin Cites Penalty For Hitler

Henry Sloane Coffin, president of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., spoke last week to an area meeting of Presbyterians in Christ Presbyterian Church, of which Edwin O. Kennedy has been the minister for ten years. He was introduced by the pastor emeritus, George E. Hunt, of the Union Seminary class of 1892, who served the Madison church in a notably liberal ministry from 1904 to 1934. Dr. Coffin indicted, as enemies in the war for a better world, nationalism, racialism, economic injustice and church disunity. He reported that in Columbus, Ohio, a high school essay contest on "What to Do with Hitler after the War" was won by a 16-year-old Negro girl, whose thesis was that the most fitting retribution on the

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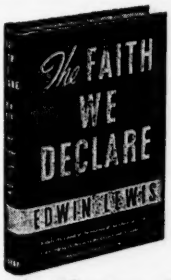

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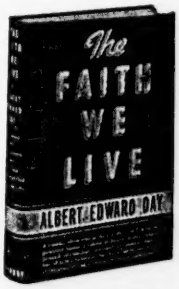

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führer would be to put him in a black skin and require him to live out the rest of his life in America.

* * *

USO Club Used by Negroes and Whites

During Brotherhood Week the church relations committee of the Madison USO sponsored a reception for the chaplains of Truax Field and the ministers of the city. Tomorrow evening the chaplains and officers of Truax Field will be hosts at a dinner at the field to the ministers. A leading chaplain reports that he finds he needs in his office a Bible, a hymnbook, a typewriter and a box of Kleenex. The last is for the men who come in tears about the gal, or the wife, or the baby, or "mom" back home. Church cooperation with the USO has been willing. Hospitality to service men on field and campus has been cordial. An extension USO is equipped in the Unitarian parish house for the use of colored troops. They may, however, use the central USO, except for mixed dancing.

* * *

Aid Nisei to Resettle

Some 75 Japanese-American young people are now located in the Madison area, including several married couples, some of whom have been active church workers in their west coast communities. These young citizens are working as nurses, accountants, architects, auto mechanics, dentists' assistants, attorneys, restaurateurs, housemen and maids. A limited number are now admitted to the University of Wisconsin. Their acceptance in the community has been assisted by a committee including the mayor, a supreme court judge, an American Legion commander, an association of commerce president and several merchants and clergymen. The American Legion recently took a service flag to the home of a Japanese-American family, long resident here, from which a son has gone into the armed forces.

* * *

And So Forth

The report in the Feb. 28 issue of *Life* that your correspondent had suffered an unusual case of "amnesia" is, he avers, like the premature report of Mark Twain's death, greatly exaggerated. He fell while skating alone in the middle of one of Madison's excellent lakes and with a blow to the chin knocked himself out for a few hours and was off schedule for two weeks, but is now back in his pulpit and has since skated on the lake again. The most embarrassing part of the episode is that he came home in his stocking feet, can't explain how he got there and can discover no Good Samaritan who brought him to his door. The moral for ministers is: Beware how you come home in your stocking feet—or be sure you can find the Good Samaritan without a concordance.

During Brotherhood Week the Wisconsin round table of Christians and Jews brought Dr. Ethel Alpenfels, anthropologist of the University of Chicago, to the Rotary club and to three high schools for talks on "Race in America." She held that cultural variety lends richness to the life of America, and that persons are to be judged not by their pre-American antecedents but by their present cultural characteristics and personality values.

ALFRED W. SWAN.

Mexicans Urge Drive on Vice

National Congress Considers Measures for Abolishing Prostitution—Plan of Latin Nationhood Urged

(Correspondence from Mexico)

MEXICO, D. F., Feb. 28.—The National Congress against Vice closed on Feb. 22. It was an official affair, with delegates from all the departments of the government. Representatives of private organizations were welcomed and given the right to speak but not the privilege of voting. Among these, the Salvation Army and "Maranatha," an association of laymen from several Evangelical denominations, participated. Strengthening of the family; improvement of housing, recreational and educational facilities for the masses; encouragement of hygienic education; an anti-alcoholic campaign involving strict enforcement of the law in saloons, night clubs and cheap hotels and suspension of the sale of liquor on Saturday afternoon, Sunday and holidays; and the suppression of pornographic publications were among the measures adopted by the congress and recommended to the nation.

* * *

Attack Fiction of 'Regulation'

A legal fiction that has been a long-standing tradition in Latin countries crumbled to pieces when the congress took an outright stand for abolition of legalized prostitution. Red-light districts have been suppressed by federal action in the federal district, not without some protest from the supporters of the system. Legal authorization and regulation of prostitution have been considered the only way to "protect society and public morals." But the congress said, "Prostitution should not be regulated, but suppressed and fundamentally prevented." Another innovation recommended by the Congress was to make the use of narcotics, and not only the traffic in them, a crime. It also advocated placing under state control the prophylactic and curative treatment of addicts. Private doctors would be allowed to undertake the treatment but always under state supervision.

* * *

Catholics Permitted to Open Schools

Thirty million pesos (about $6,000,000) have been appropriated by the president for the building of new schools all over the country. The opening of the school year this month revealed a distressing lack of adequate school buildings. Classrooms in all schools are already overcrowded and thousands of children could not gain admission. The secretary of public education, Sr. Torres Bodet, has sent out an urgent appeal that more schools be provided by private initiative. The legal obstacle to the establishment of schools by religious bodies is however still in existence. This limits the number of schools that may be opened under private auspices. Religious schools (mainly Catholic) are functioning only because of a policy of non-enforce-

ment of existing laws, but naturally this is a very unstable situation. The laws may be enforced without previous notice at any time.

* * *

Government Sees End Of War Coming

A national committee for the study of postwar problems has been appointed by President Avila Camacho. It includes representatives from the "right" and "left" wings, besides the members of the cabinet and three members each of the senate and the chamber. The chairman is Octavio Vejar Vazquez, until recently the secretary of public education, who thus comes back into the limelight of national attention. Among the other members are Rudolfo Brito Foucher, president of the National University; V. Lombardo Toledano, the radical labor leader; and Manual Gomez Morin, head of Accion Nacional, which is often accused of pro-fascist leanings.

* * *

'Funny' Papers Are Banned

Picture papers for children, full of crime and sometimes even of sex stories, that have been circulating disguised as innocent "funny papers," were dealt a mortal blow by a presidential regulation, whereby not only papers publishing immoral stories and pictures but also those that publish materials "harmful to public education" are banned from circulation. Among the latter, pictures and stories that encourage "faith in chance" and transgressions of the law, as well as those that offend against "correctness of language and democratic conceptions," are included.

* * *

Revive Dream of One Nation

The ideal of Simon Bolivar has come to life again in a proposal made by Rafael Larco Herrera, vice-president of Peru, on his recent visit to this country. He plans to mobilize the intellectual groups under the leadership of a committee for continental unity. One such group has already been organized in Guatemala and another is in process of organization in Mexico. Once similar groups function in all the countries, a pan-American conference will be called. "Complete union of all the nations of the continent," said President Larco Herrera, "is the desire of many people. It is only a question of finding the best way to work it out." This union, he added, must be political, social, economic and spiritual.

* * *

And So Forth

Strict control of electric energy has been instituted by the government. Besides adopting war-time and daylight-saving regulations, it has notified consumers of electric energy that a minimum saving of 20 per cent is compulsory.

Gasoline rationing has not yet been established, but every car must be given one day off weekly. Scarcity of tires is still widely felt. The black market however is very active and does not seem to experience any shortage.

The most serious menace to Mexico's economy and industry is the lack of rolling materials for the railways, especially of locomotives. Freight cars full of goods stand for weeks in the yards, waiting for a pull. Fruit and similar merchandise often rot before they can be dispatched to their destination. A single company, the Mexican Railroad, reports 150,000 tons of goods held up on the tracks.

G. Baez Camargo.

Palmer to Retire Next Year

Albert W. Palmer, president of the Chicago Theological Seminary, has announced that he expects to retire from his post on July 1, 1945, at which time he will have reached the retirement age provided by the seminary board. The directors have appointed a committee to name his successor. Its chairman is Carter Davidson, president of Knox College.

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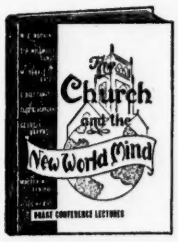

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Sees Big Gains On Race Front

Urban League Cites Evidence of Increase in Negro Employment—Pacifists Seek to Keep Record Clear

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, March 6.—About 550 people sat down to the annual dinner of the Chicago Urban League this week. They included many leaders in church and community life. Harold A. Lett, executive secretary of the New Jersey Urban League and vice-chairman of the Newark Housing Authority, spoke. He declared that treatment of a minority is one of the best barometers of the social weather, since forces of reaction always test their aggression against the minority first. As evidence of the substantial progress which he believes is being made in Negro-white relations, he listed the admission of Negroes to the air corps and the marine corps and to officer status in the navy. Over a million and a half Negroes, he said, have been admitted into industries from which they were formerly barred, and a more constructive attitude is manifest in the press, on the radio and among the public generally. The most pressing problems, he held, were whether Negroes' jobs will vanish at the end of the war, whether they can secure decent housing and whether they can obtain general acceptance by organized labor.

* * *

Chicago Firms Change Attitudes

The local league reported that 783 Chicago firms had changed their labor policies in 1943 by opening opportunities to Negroes. The league now serves 1,000 firms in improving their relationship and the efficiency of Negro workers. It announced a six-point program for 1944: To remove interracial misunderstandings and intolerance; to promote improved Negro conduct and capacity for citizenship, including industrial skill; to promote better labor relations; to advance interracial education among schoolchildren; to use church channels for interracial understanding and good relations; and to support the work of committees, commissions and groups at work in the field.

* * *

Methodist Campaign Heads in Chicago

Led by Bishop Paul B. Kern of Nashville and largely directed from Chicago headquarters, Methodists all over the country came together last Sunday in services of rededication for the multiplied tasks of the church in wartime and in a war-torn world. Every person present at the services held in the 42,000 Methodist churches was called upon to kneel in commitment of "self, service and substance" and "renewing their covenant with God." Offerings from the services will be devoted to the work of the church with the armed forces, in war industry centers and in war-torn lands. One of the features of the celebration was the participation of 400,000 laymen in the pulpits and on circuits where pastors serving more than one church were unable to conduct this simultaneous service.

* * *

Lutherans Set Up Welfare Fund

Lutherans in Chicago are raising $6,000 to match a similar sum offered by the Community Fund for the establishment of a central Lutheran welfare agency which will represent all Lutheran bodies with a constituency in the Chicago area and all Lutheran welfare institutions. The community chest has asked this coordination of Lutheran social work, feeling that through such cooperation the Lutherans will be better able to take care of the needs of their people. The movement is the outcome of a charities committee organized in 1936 in which all Lutherans in the area have been represented.

* * *

And So Forth

Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, has raised a small storm by suggesting publicly that degrees of academic rank, with the corresponding titles, be abolished in his faculty.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

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Gung Ho! (Univ.) J. Carrol Naish, Randolph Scott. *Drama.* Submarine-borne raid by marines on Japanese-held Makin Island early in Pacific offensive. . . . Documentary-like, portrays training, selection of volunteers for raid, is *vivid, realistic* in setting forth steps involved in landing on and overcoming enemy-held bases. M, Y

None Shall Escape (Col.) *Melodrama.* At war's-end trial of "war criminals," one nazi's crimes are told in flashbacks as related by witnesses. Unlike some other propaganda "beast" films, this does portray some decent Germans. *Exploits the sensational,* however, in theatrical episodes that fail to ring true—and particularly in advertising. Effective character portrayal. M

Revenge of the Zombies (Mono.) *Melodrama.* Doctor creates zombies to fight for Hitler, but they turn American on him! This would be *ridiculous* if one could forget that time and money were actually spent on such a monstrosity.

The Song of Bernadette (Fox) Charles Bickford, Jennifer Jones, Vincent Price, Blanche Yurka. *Drama* centering around peasant girl of Lourdes whose report of mystical visions brings turmoil in thought and life of city, church and nation. Sympathetically, intelligently done, film succeeds in contrasting simple, frank belief with self-interest, intrigue. Except for inclusion of "vision" in camera range, avoids the sensational. Effective portrayal of characters, even to minor ones. *Sincere, sensitive, unspectacular.* M, Y

Whistling in Brooklyn (MGM) *Farce.* Another in series about "the Fox," timid radio broadcaster of detective yarns, who here gets himself accused of murder. *Farcical escapades,* many of them hair-raising, in typical Red Skelton manner. M, Y

The Woman of the Town (UA) Albert Dekker, Percy Kilbride, Claire Trevor. *Melodrama.* Editor reminisces of days as cattle-town marshal, of feuds and shooting, and the dance-hall girl who proved herself an angel in disguise. More subtle than average western, and an exciting story. All still exaggerated, however, and lines between right and wrong fumbled. *A western that started to grow up.* M, Y

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